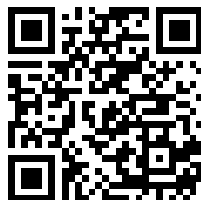

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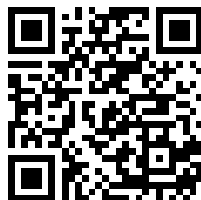
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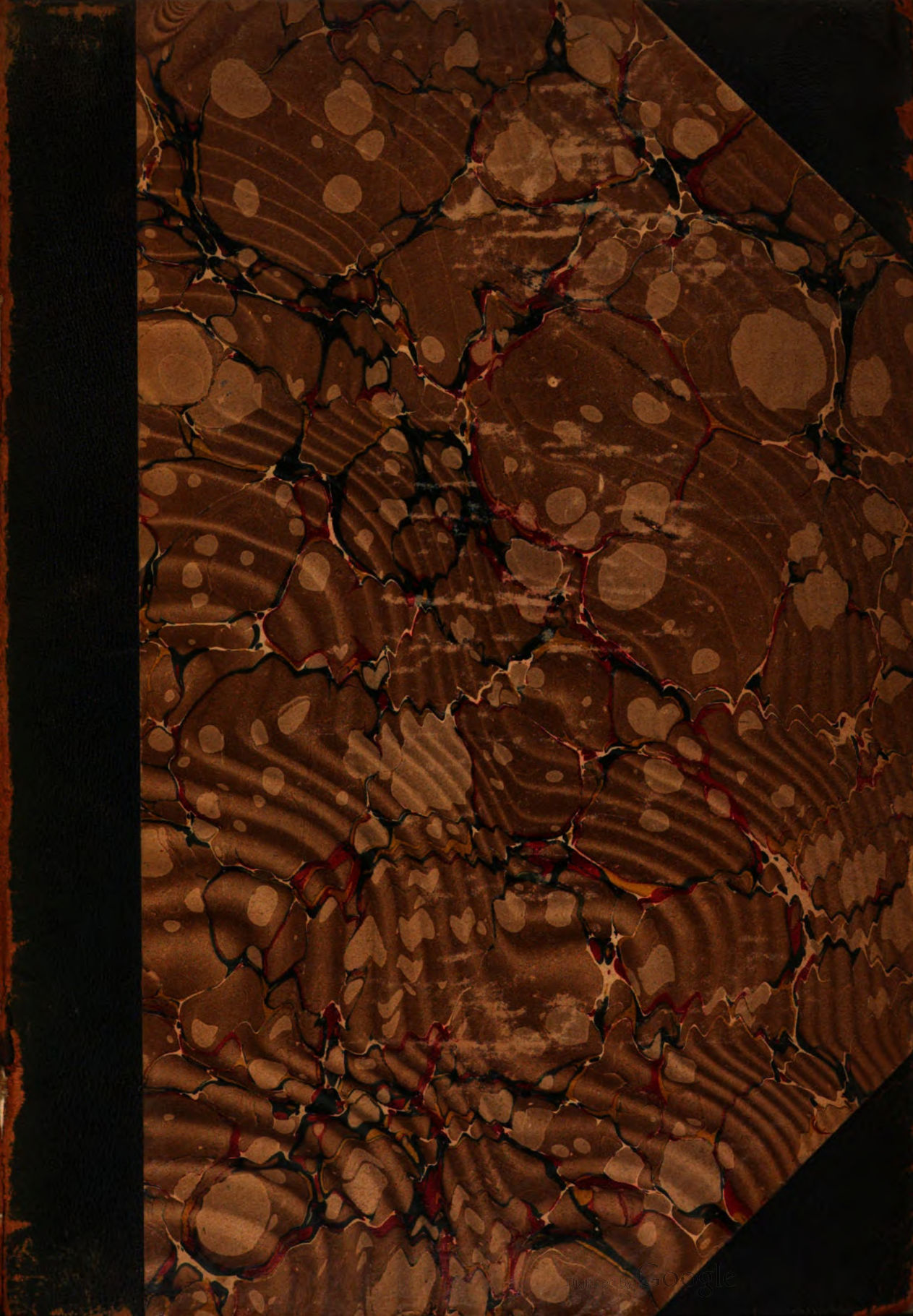


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QUEEN'S QUARTERLY

VOL. V.

JULY, 1897.

No. I.

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THE CHURCH AND MODERN THOUGHT.

— — —
AN ADDRESS AT A CONFERENCE OF THE ANGLICAN CLERGY IN
TORONTO IN 1884.

“Doth not even nature itself teach you?”—1 Cor. xi. 14.

WHAT do we mean by the Church? I hope I may be allowed, throughout this paper, to use the term in its most loose and popular acceptation, meaning Christianity at large, with all its varieties,—with all its conflicting psalms, doctrines, interpretations and revelations—that unhappy condition of things, neither coherent nor homogeneous, which the religion of the day presents.

And what do we mean by Modern Thought? Is the daily paper its expression? If so, what hopeless confusion meets us while we scan its columns! Opinions of every hue on all possible subjects; pious sentiments and profane expressions; the sermon of the revivalist; the lecture of the free-thinker; the seance of the spiritual medium; the record of some noble deed; the long list of atrocious crimes; the last discovery of Science; the last gigantic swindle; the last miracle at the shrine of some saint; the last case of answer to prayer; the last dynamite explosion;—what a witches' cauldron is the daily paper! What a chaos is such modern thought!

No; by modern thought we mean educated, cultured thought; the thought which is serious and earnest, which is in pursuit of absolute truth, though not along our paths; which determines to acknowledge whatever truth it finds, no matter at what cost; which often with intense grief feels its hold on faith

relaxing ; which, thanks to our modern education, is well versed in all the secrets wrung of late from Nature, and, comparing them with the assertions of its old-time religion, cries with a heavy heart, "The two are incompatible, one must go." With such modern thought how is the Church to deal? That is our question ; and what a momentous one for the Church of to-day ! For every year sees Science in its advance brushing to one side some prejudice or tradition of the pious ; every year sees Science consolidating her statutes and unifying her operations, while Religion, as it at present exists, torn into a hundred factions—so that scarce a single proposition of hers is acceptable to all of her own votaries—looks on distracted and helpless. And can we wonder at this when every year sees young men leaving our state-endowed seats of learning without the slightest knowledge of systematic or scientific Theology, but with minds well stored with the latest advances of Physics, Astronomy, Geology, Evolution and the Positive Philosophy ? Can we wonder if Religion thus handicapped should feel herself powerless amid this advance, and her champions—many of them relying wholly on her subjective and ignoring or depreciating her objective character—many of them volunteers and free lances, with the crudest of theological notions—many others educated in some seminary, and well versed, it may be, in their own special line of Divinity, but innocent of all scientific training—can we wonder, I say, if so many of her champions only answer their opponents with a scream ?

Besides, we must remember that Protestant Religion at any rate stakes her existence on private judgment and reason. To this principle Protestantism in her revolt from Rome appealed. And now modern thought is crying out in tones not to be misunderstood, "Hast thou appealed unto Reason? Unto Reason shalt thou go !"

Another fact must be faced and duly recognized in considering this question, and that is the increasing difficulty of believing in God's immediate and miraculous intervention, through increasing knowledge of the laws of Nature. We are seeing more and more clearly day by day that every phenomenon is the result of law, and the field of man's belief in the direct agency of the Deity is continually narrowing as every fresh discovery resolves

some hitherto unexplained phenomenon. In the time of the Great Plague of London every smitten house was marked with a red cross and the words, "Lord have mercy!" Now-a-days such houses would be marked only with the bulletins of the Board of Health. A hundred years ago a fearful storm, an earthquake, a comet, was looked upon with awe as an exceptional act of divine power: To-day we consult probabilities, we look to the storm drum, and we are informed when and where the next comet will appear. Thirty years ago it was no uncommon thing for a coroner's jury to return a verdict, Died by the visitation of God; to-day, methinks, such a finding would scarcely satisfy the public mind.

Now under all these disadvantages how is the Church to still retain her hold on modern thought? The answer has been already suggested. If the Church would influence modern thought, she must study modern thought. She must send out her defenders and champions, not only well equipped in Theological lore, but also fairly furnished with the tools which the science of the day has forged. She must remember that God has caused two Scriptures to be written for our learning, the Book of Nature and the Book of Revelation; and if the students of Nature come to conclusions at variance with those of the students of Revelation, a most weighty responsibility lies on the Church if she does not reconcile them. That is the Church's business; she must be like the wise householder bringing out of her treasures things new and old; she must learn to adopt every truth of Nature when fairly established and adapt it to her system or adapt her system to it. Theology has well been called the Queen of Sciences; but if she would retain her throne she must learn to reign as a constitutional monarch; and when an act has passed triumphantly the Commons and the Lords of Science, Theology must needs give her royal assent. It was through her imperious obstinacy that she nearly lost her throne in the time of Galileo. Then an outcry was raised because the modern thought of that day seemed to contravene the Word of God. Texts were quoted in abundance to prove that the sun travelled round the earth, and that the theories of Galileo were heretical. And to-day the same mistake is being made with reference to the age of the world and the first appearance of death therein.

Surely we must know that experts in Science can only smile when they see the pictures in our illustrated Bibles of Adam and Eve sitting *in puris naturalibus* among lions and tigers and polar bears, the said beasts possessing, even in Eden, carnivorous teeth and claws. They are aware how thoroughly irreconcilable with known laws are such representations, and so they relegate the whole story of the Creation to the realms of legend and myth. In fact, while the Religion of Christ is tied to such Miltonic presentments of the Cosmogony and made to rest on such foundations, we cannot wonder if faith slips away from the graduates of our Universities; and unless the Church arouses to a sense of her position and her responsibilities, and learns, like Science, to marshal her ranks, consolidate her forces, and unify her system, we are in danger of seeing the time when (to parody the words of the historian) the multitudinous forms of Christianity will be held by the vulgar as all equally true, by the learned as all equally false, and by the magistrate and statesman as all equally troublesome.

It may be asked: Granting that the Church should be alive to the advance of Science, and adopt all her established truths, how is she to adapt them to her system? How are the things of the Spirit to be enforced by a knowledge of the things of Nature? What has the one to do with the other?

The very fact that men of Science cannot receive our saying because they conceive it conflicts with known laws, shows how much the one has to do with the other. The very fact that Religion sets out with an account of the creation of the earth and man shews that she does not divorce herself from Nature. The very fact that Religion specifies or has hitherto specified with such exactness the moment when decay and dissolution began their sway in this world of ours shews that her teachings overlap the domains of Physical Science. And the very fact that such assertions have been disproved should warn her to take heed to her steps, and so to set forth her doctrines that at least they shall not clash with the ascertained facts of Physics. Nature and Revelation, being joined together by God, must not be divorced; and the exponent of Revelation must not, on peril of the salvation of those for whom Christ died, present his Religion in such a way as to repel the earnest student of Nature. If we want to

know how to avert this, let us turn to the words of the Master Himself. He taught by parables—that is, by analogy. His favourite formula was, “The Kingdom of Heaven is like unto”——and then would follow some simple illustration from the ordinary course of Nature, thus recognizing the truth that Nature and Revelation are the work of the same Almighty hand. Yes; the argument from analogy we must learn to apply to the latest discoveries of Science. And that champion of the Faith will—I speak, of course, as regards *intellectual* attainments merely—be best equipped for his work of guiding modern thought, who is a student of Nature, who knows something of such modern writers as Darwin, Helmholtz, Grant Allen, Bain, Clifford, Proctor, Herbert Spencer, and who in Theology has thoroughly digested and assimilated the argument of that prince of metaphysical theologians, Bishop Butler. I do not mean one who has “crammed” his work so as to scratch through an examination; I do not mean one who can turn to chapter and verse and quote his *ipsissima verba*; but one who is thoroughly master of his line of reasoning and is able to modify and amplify and adapt it to the present state of knowledge. The main principle of that work is eternally true, though common sense will show that in certain details, as Butler himself intimates, advancing knowledge of Nature may require modifications, and Butler’s principle is nothing more than that of the Lord Himself, whose parables form the axioms, so to speak, of Butler’s propositions. That line of reasoning is briefly this:—the Author of Revelation is also the Author of Nature; therefore we may look for analogies in His dealings in both departments; similar difficulties and obscurity; similar explanations and light; similar “antinomies,” to quote Kant’s expression, and similar lines of procedure. Such works as Christlieb’s “Modern Doubt and Christian Belief,” the Duke of Argyle’s “Reign of Law” and “Unity of Nature,” and Prof. Drummond’s “Natural Law in the Spiritual World,” are modern instances of the application of Butler’s principle.

If we enquire of modern thought what are the hindrances to its accepting Christianity, I think we shall find there are two main points which prove its greatest stumbling blocks. The two I refer to are the Cosmogony and the Atonement. I do not conceive that the idea of the miraculous *per se* is a hindrance.

Modern thought, if we could only embody it and give it a voice, would probably say: "I do not deny that there is a Creator of the Universe; I do not deny that such a Creator as He must be could, if he chose, reveal His will specially to the intelligent portion of His creatures on this planet. I do not deny that in doing so He might use means out of His ordinary course—in other words, miraculous methods. But such a revelation must agree with facts; your account of the Creation does not agree with facts, and therefore could not have proceeded from the Creator. Again, as to your doctrine of the Atonement, it seems to me contrary to all right and justice; such a doctrine might have done well enough in those barbarous ages when it was considered perfectly fair to put to death the hostage of some escaped or pardoned felon; but in these days such a transaction would be doubly criminal. Making the innocent suffer in order that the guilty may go free might suit an eastern despot or a tyrant of ancient times, but is altogether opposed to modern ideas of justice and right."

Now, how are we to meet these objections of modern thought? Are we to treat them scornfully and with a supercilious wave of the hand quote that much abused text, "Science falsely so called," and then think we have done everything? Or are we to weigh them carefully, see how much force there is in them, and see what we can do to break down or mitigate that force?

Let us take the first point. Modern thought says: Your story of the Creation and Fall is contrary to fact. You make all living things immortal and innocuous before the first pair ate of the forbidden fruit. Now all Nature declares with no faltering voice that for ages before man appeared on the theatre of the world living creatures had been devouring one another; that the very rocks on which the first man trod were but vast tombs of dead creatures; that death and pain and suffering were from the first inseparable from life.

Surely our answer to this must be to frankly own it, and to discard for ever these human additions—for such they are—to the Word of God.

Time would fail me to tell of all the objections to our presentment of the Creation and Fall. But to be brief, let us take

the plain unvarnished tale of Holy Scripture and see what was the condition of primal humanity according to the simple account of Genesis, stripped of all Miltonic and mediæval traditions, and due allowance being made for the oriental imagery of the Scriptures. Man—naked, eating fruits and roots—his mind almost a blank—innocent BECAUSE IGNORANT—not *knowing good from evil*—not (as Milton would have it) full of all goodness and only blissfully ignorant of evil, but not knowing one from the other. His conscience, his ethical faculty was as yet undeveloped. Nay, more, the Bible itself declares that the evolution of that ethical faculty was a vast step in advance. “Behold the man *is become* as one of us, to know good from evil.” It was a tremendous development, even if purchased at great cost. Let us fully weigh that fact—that man at first did not know good from evil, with all that it involves, and the glamour of the Miltonic Adam will disappear. I know it will be replied, “But man was made in the image of God.” True; but what does that expression mean? I confess I cannot be satisfied with the exegesis of Prof. Delitzsch in his *Biblical Psychology*, nor of any other author I have read. Was man made in the image of God physically? No. Intellectually? No. Morally? No. In the image of God ideally, *i.e.*, the image which the Lord intended to assume when He subsequently became incarnate? That is certainly a more tenable though a very roundabout interpretation. I venture to suggest one which seems to me much overlooked, and yet most practical. The term “of God” is here, as we know it is so often elsewhere in the Old Testament, simply the Hebrew superlative. Man was made in the image of God, *i.e.*, in the highest image. His was the highest possible or, at least, highest actual organism on this planet. He was the acme and crown, the superlative of Creation. Such a rendering is grammatical, and in accordance with Hebrew idiom, while at the same time it harmonizes the expression with Science, and with the language of Genesis itself, which speaks of man having his faculties developed through his very fall. “Behold the man *is become* as one of us, to know good and evil.”

And now as to the second difficulty: that which modern thought finds in reconciling the doctrine of the Atonement with its moral consciousness. And here let us ask, Is not modern Chris-

tianity much to blame for this recoil from the doctrine of the Cross, by the coarse and repellant figures with which she often illustrates it? I grant these are only figures; I grant we must use illustrations, and that at best we can but approximate to the depths of the divine mystery. But at least let our illustrations be such as to commend themselves to the moral sense of men. We are all touched by the story of Damon and Pythias, we admire their self-sacrifice, each anxious to yield up his own life to save his friend. But we cannot but abhor the ruthlessness of the tyrant of Syracuse, perfectly indifferent as to which of the two suffered so long as he got his "satisfaction" by the blood of one of them. And even he was at last forced by very shame to pardon them both. Now, if any government of the present day were to enforce or even suggest such a thing as executing an innocent person, though a consenting party, in the stead of a guilty one, such government would incur the execration of the whole civilized world. And yet in such a light do many preachers, with their exaggerated and clumsy metaphors, represent the Father of all—and what wonder if modern thought recoils from the contemplation?

Now, instead of using for illustrations of the great mystery of the Atonement the forensic and judicial procedures of an uncivilized and bygone age, let us *apply the principles of Butler and turn to Nature*. We first observe that all through organic life there exists and has existed from the time when the first amœba or monad was devoured by some higher organism, an all-pervading law of Sacrifice—the sacrifice of one life for the benefit of another. In these days, when we love to talk of law and reduce everything to law, let not this universal law be lost sight of—that every living organism is maintained in life by the forfeiture of other organic life. It is a paradox and yet a truth that the law of Sacrifice is the law of Life. Then, as we ascend the scale of animated Nature, another law or another phase of the same law meets us; *viz.*, that of Self-Sacrifice, the voluntary giving up or risking of life for the sake of a loved object. And the more complex the organism and the higher the intelligence, the more strikingly is this Self-Sacrifice—or in the jargon of modern thought Altruism—displayed. We see it in the hen defending her chicks, we see it in an eminent degree in the love of the dog to his master.

Ascending now to man, we see that self-sacrifice reaching a height of devotion that is grand indeed ; not simply the self-sacrifice born of excitement—the self-sacrifice of the hot blood—but the patient, calm, ever-enduring self-sacrifice of the human mother. This, then, is the law in its various degrees pervading all animated Nature. And consider how, notwithstanding the pain and suffering, nay, because of and by means of that very pain and suffering, this law of self-sacrifice has evoked such noble deeds and developed such loveliness of character. Consider the fortitude, the patience, the sympathy, the courage, the tenderness, the poetry, the passion of love with which the world has been flooded through this law so fraught with suffering, and yet so beneficent, so lovely. And now let thought ascend *in excelsis*. Conceive of God, the Creator and Father of all, the Author of this universal law, Himself submitting to His own ordinance, and in the sacrifice of Calvary see the culmination of this mysterious principle ; see there, brought to a focus, so to say, the whole rationale of self-sacrifice ; see there its expansion, not merely to those for whom one has a personal and selfish regard, but to all the world. “ Peradventure for a good man some would even dare to die ; but God commendeth His love towards us, in that while we were yet sinners Christ died for us.” See in the divine light of the cross the concentrated anguish at once and tenderness, the pain and the beneficence, the suffering and the glory of this mysterious universal law. “ God so loved the world.”

So it seems to me that the devout study of Science but enhances the value of Religion, and every fresh light thrown on Nature illumines the pages of Holy Writ. Even if we accept Evolution, let us not be startled. I do not by this term mean that the primal man was but the product of some tailless monkey. Theology is not bound to admit this ; she can afford to wait until the missing link turns up. But I mean the whole system of Philosophy propounded by Mr. Herbert Spencer, Prof. Proctor and others, beginning with the Nebular Theory and postulating the slow and gradual development from incoherence to coherence, from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous, from chaos to kosmos, of all matter and all force. Even if we insist on the direct and special creation of each species or genus, it

remains true all the same that that creation, *or series of creations*, was, according to a certain line of procedure, a development of forms and types in regular order and scale, and that those forms and types are conditioned by their surroundings. Now, admitting this much of evolution, has not the Kingdom of Grace had its own evolution too? From the time of a first dim and vague intimation of a coming Saviour, all through the line of priests and prophets, the light of God's truth shining more and more until the perfect day of Christ—and even since the Resurrection until now—the extension of the Incarnation in “the Church which is His Body, the fulness of Him that filleth all in all,” the incarnate Lord being, I say it in all reverence, the protoplasm of eternal life—what is all this but an evolution? “God who at sundry times and in divers manners spake in times past unto the fathers by the prophets, hath in these last days spoken unto us by His Son.” There is the spiritual analogue of the material philosophy of modern thought.

Yes, the more the light shines from out of Nature the more should the Christian rejoice at the light elicited from Revelation. The one is God's light just as much as the other, and the Christian feeling this can hail the light of Science. It will dispel many a dark cloud now disfiguring Religion, it will put to the rout many a crude and fantastic form of Christianity. But it will make manifest the attributes of God and the character of His work, both in nature and grace. And the catholic Christian, the first article of whose creed is, “I believe in one God, the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth, and of all things, visible and invisible,” will recognize that the investigators of His work are illustrating His Word also; and feeling that every freshly ascertained fact of Nature is further light from God Himself, and reflects that light on His revealed Word, can confidently say, “In Thy light shall we see Light.”

GEORGE J. LOW.

RECENT PHASES OF SOCIALISM.

SOME one of superior insight has said that he thought little of the heart of a young man who was not socialistic, and little of the head of an old man who was. In that terse statement is to be found the "promise and potency" of a world of truth concerning socialistic theories. The charm of socialism for the heart of man, and especially for the yearning, idealistic heart of youth, is that, in its higher and more captivating forms, it gives expression to the longing of the sympathetic human heart to be able to put an end to the misery and suffering which permeates indeed the whole range of organic life, but which comes home to us more directly in our fellow men, and especially those of our own nation and kindred. Yet socialism is not all a matter of the heart. As each succeeding socialistic congress brings out in stronger relief, the great majority of those who form the rank and file of socialism are actuated by the most individualistic self-interest that one may anywhere find. With these it is essentially a matter of the pocket and the stomach. But, even of that interesting and picturesque minority who are attracted by the philanthropic and sentimental aspect which socialism wears in literature, nine out of ten are seeking relief from the distress caused to their feelings by the reports which reach them of the physical distress of humanity, the lack of the necessities and comforts of life. To supply the primary physical wants of a specimen of the human race is, indeed, the first step towards making a man of him, but it is only the first step. If we may judge by the words and actions of socialists, rather than by the writings of the few literary exponents of socialism, it does not seem to occur to many of them that the starvation of the spiritual man is really a more distressing fact than the starvation of the physical man. As Carlyle puts it, "It is not because of his toils that I lament for the poor; we must all toil or steal (howsoever we name our stealing) which is worse: no faithful man finds his task a pastime. . . . But what I do mourn over is, that the lamp of his soul should go out: that no ray of heavenly, or even of earthly knowledge, should visit him, but only, in the haggard darkness,

like two spectres, Fear and Indignation bear him company. Alas! was this, too, a breath of God: bestowed in heaven, but on earth never to be unfolded!—That there should one man die ignorant who had capacity for knowledge, this I call a tragedy were it to happen more than twenty times in the minute, as by some computations it does." But as it is with most of us, we are apt to say, Insure to every man food, clothing, warmth and shelter, and those other trifles which pertain to his spiritual nature will come to him as a matter of course, and, at any rate, what does it matter so long as he is happy? The ideal of the typical Dickens Christmas story, somewhat expanded, perhaps, and rendered permanent and abiding, is the ideal of socialism to the great mass of those who are attracted by it. All things considered, this is most natural and even reasonable in a way, and it is precisely in that fact that the danger with which socialism threatens the world lies.

Many people suppose that the danger lies in the hold which socialism has over a number of educated men. But there is really no danger from that quarter. Most of these men are on the road from the dominance of the heart to the regulation of the head. As one of them confesses, they are sowing their philanthropic wild oats. Even though some may pass into maturity, and even old age, without correcting in this respect the humours of youth, yet they are so hopelessly at variance among themselves and with the regular socialists, as regards the positive side of their programme, that nothing like a general organized movement can come from their side. Moreover, their tendency to minimize the purely material side of socialism, their introduction of ethical and spiritual features, and their adherence to the individualistic principle of competition in talent, has so completely discredited them in the eyes of the workingman socialism, which is everywhere the backbone of the movement, that their influence is entirely to be counted on as a useful, though all too feeble brake on the more radical and practical agitation.

The really practical aspect of socialism and its real danger to modern society lies not in its sentimental or strictly socialistic features, but in its individualistic basis. The strength of that basis is the appeal to the personal and material self-interest of men who, in their ignorance, have been led to believe that they

are being unjustly deprived of a great part of the wealth which properly belongs to them by a tyrannous and selfish upper class. There is, of course, a sufficiently large sheaf of facts to be gleaned from actual life to give colour to this claim. The intense and righteous indignation which is capable of being aroused by a firm belief in such a supposed condition of affairs, we can all, I think, perfectly understand, and, to a certain extent, sympathize with.

That the rank and file of socialism has any real interest in a collective utopia, having as its object the perfection of man as a spiritual being in an organized community, or that it is actuated by high philanthropic motives, cannot be held, I am sure, by any one possessed of an impartial mind who will read the proceedings of the last general socialistic congress, held in London last summer. At the same time it is quite true that a great deal of socialistic literature, though not the lower and more business-like, nor the higher and more scientific, is filled with what appear to be the most lofty and beautiful sentiments of brotherhood and all manner of charity. Here we find millennial, though withal somewhat nebulous, visions of perfectly realized capacities, of satisfied desires, of a permanently sustained and otherwise unearthly happiness. But this is a socialistic state which is to be reached by eliminating all the powerful mainsprings of human nature, and we may rest assured that it will never reduce to a dead calm the surging waves of the sea of life.

The practical strength of socialism lies in its appeal to individual self-interest, that is to something which is contradictory of its ideal principles. The theoretic strength of socialism lies in its criticism of the existing order of society. This is also the only bond of union between its multifarious forms.

Socialism is always able to point out that there are many imperfections in even the best states. So far, I fancy, we are all socialists, for few of us are satisfied with the present achievements of society. These imperfections, again, are attributed to the present economic, social and political structure of society. This also may be admitted, in the sense that they could not well be attributed to an order of society which does not exist. But it is to be observed that modern civilized societies are not all of the same structure, and that the evils of which socialists chiefly complain are to be found in all of them, which would seem to indi-

cate that the evils were due to some more fundamental imperfection of human nature than a mere defect in the form of society. It must be something much more radical than a mere difference in the structure of society which accounts for the variations in the working of democratic institutions, as between South America and North America. However, admitting that form is one important element, as between more and less perfect societies, we are prepared for the socialist's general conclusion that the present structure of society should be changed and some other system introduced which would do away with our present evils. Here again we may answer, though past experiences promise little hope of a rational reply, with all our hearts, if only you can show us such a system, and give us reasonable expectation of its success. Here we part company with the socialists for a time, promising to join them again when they have devised their remedial system. But in taking leave of them we observe that they are taking leave of one another, after splitting up into a bewildering number of groups, exhibiting anything but a collective unanimity and brotherhood ; manifesting, on the contrary, a very aggravated form of individualistic competition in envy, malice, hatred and all uncharitableness. This characteristic finds very full illustration in the recent International Socialist Congress. The congress met to consider ways and means for the promotion and ultimate introduction of a new social order in which everything is to depend on perfection of organization and the harmonious blending of all interests. Yet, as the irony of fate would have it, this assembly of the cream of the world's socialists exhibited the most woeful incapacity to organize their own congress. For the first three days the congress consisted of a combination of the forces of babel and bedlam, presenting to the world the spectacular drama of "Chaos come again." When, however, under probably the most outlandish organization that has ever governed any modern congress, they finally settled down to work, it was quite evident that socialism in the concrete was not, to the majority of these men, anything in the line of a millennial fairy land perfumed with rose water and sentiment. The discussions carried on and the resolutions passed leave no doubt that practical socialism is a purely sectional affair, being entirely in the interest of the laboring classes of society. Hence,

as the following extract will show, they cannot conceive of the well-to-do classes taking any honest interest in the promotion of their objects. They therefore advocate the maintenance of an attitude of suspicion and aloofness towards the middle and upper classes. Here is an extract from the Commission of the congress on political action: "This Congress understands political action as the organized struggle in all forms for the conquest of political power and its use nationally and locally in legislation and administration by the working class on behalf of their emancipation. The Congress declares that with the view of realizing the emancipation of the workers, the enfranchisement of humanity and the citizen, and the establishment of the International Socialist Republic, the conquest of political power is of paramount importance, and calls upon workers of all countries to unite, independent of and apart from all bourgeois political parties, and to demand universal adult suffrage, one adult one vote, the second ballot, together with the national and local referendum and initiative."

The Fabians were naturally very much opposed to this exclusion of the middle and higher class elements, and were supported in their opposition by the Belgians and some of the English trades unions, but a motion to amend the report on this point was swamped by a great majority. Thus the fact that practical socialism is a lower class movement is doubly confirmed. Therein lies at once its moral and intellectual weakness, its practical strength, its blind, crude and incalculable force, its narrow and selfish individualistic basis, and hence its capacity for working indefinite injury to society in spasmodic attempts to realize its objects.

No international congress had been held since that of Zurich in 1893, and in the meantime the English socialists of the study were claiming that socialism was becoming more rational and scientific in character and adopting a more elevated moral tone. This is the ground taken for instance by Mr. Sidney Ball, of St. John's College, Oxford, in a long article on "The Moral Aspects of Socialism," in the April number, 1896, of *The International Journal of Ethics*. He claims to represent the most developed form of socialism, which is no doubt true, but he considers it to be the faith of the majority of the socialists, which is most certainly false: the more's the pity.

He admits that the ideal of the older socialists was of a somewhat sordid kind, being so largely taken up with schemes for the satisfaction of our lower nature. The new socialism, however, has advanced far beyond that stage. Instead of paying little or no attention to the development of the various aspects of the spiritual nature and the perfecting of character, it is claimed that spiritual development and the perfecting of character are precisely the essence of modern socialism, which in these respects, too, has become scientific. But we are rather taken aback when he appeals to Mr. Ruskin's writings on social and economic subjects, as a sample of the new socialism. Mr. Ruskin has said some very interesting things in an isolated way, but this is the first time that I have found his meanderings in the fields of politics and economics classed with anything claiming to be scientific. Those who are familiar with Mr. Ruskin's efforts in these spheres will, doubtless, have observed that they are peculiarly humorous, and that the humor is of that traditional Caledonian type which is most irresistible where it is least intended.

To the representatives of the new socialism the International Congress, with its multitude of warring factions, its unseemly tumult, and its flat contradiction of their bright forecasts, must have been a bitter disappointment. No doubt they now recognize that there is quite as much need for missionary work among the socialists themselves as among those outside the fold.

The new socialism, however, is very interesting from several points of view. Having got so far as to recognize the importance of character in human life, many other modifications of the old standard socialism had to be made. For instance, it is now admitted that private property must be not only tolerated, but fostered and protected, also inequality allowed in the possession of property to an indefinite extent. Competition even, that root of all evils to the standard socialist, must remain and be fostered, particularly in the form so obnoxious to the commonplace man, which offers special rewards for the exercise of superior capacity and special talents. Just here one cannot but note a suspicion of sectionalism on the part of the new socialists, in stipulating for the enjoyment of all the special advantages to be derived from an inheritance of superior mental or physical capacities, while

insisting on denying to others the privileges and enjoyment of inherited command over the powers and capacities of material nature.

We observe, further, that the new socialists are fully alive to the possibilities of over population, the deterioration of the national stock, and other social difficulties of a biological nature. They even claim that the new socialism would put in operation for the first time a stringent selective system in the regulation of marriages, and thereby not only preclude the possibility of the socialistic state being overwhelmed by a swarm of incapables, but distinctly raise the standard of the race. Again, it recognizes in the modern trust, and other great organic combinations of capital and labour, not a movement against all human interest and progress, but one which is embodying many of the best features of socialism, and from whose experience socialism may borrow many valuable suggestions. It proposes in fact to allow the present enterprising and progressive method to continue the development and organization of the various branches of industry until they are sufficiently condensed in management, and wide-spreading in action, to enable the state to step in and take them over bodily one by one. Whether there should then be any further advance, or whether, indeed, the acquired efficiency could be maintained after they had passed under the bureaucratic administration of the state, is not made clear by the advocates of the new socialism. At any rate their programme is not chaotic and revolutionary. They propose to proceed gradually and cautiously, wherein we see the effects of education and intelligence—in other words, the influence of the head as regulating the heart.

So far, then, as the new socialism is concerned, society has little to fear, for it proposes to give experience a hearing. It advocates not a sudden overturning of the present order and the immediate bringing in of the socialistic state, but a gradual preparation of society for the change by an extension of the powers of the modern civic and governmental bodies in economic and educational directions—in other words, an approach to real socialism by means of what is commonly called "state-socialism."

As a great deal of loose thinking and incoherent speaking and writing is indulged in at the present time with reference to the

growth of "state-socialism," we may take a little closer look at it.

The mere extension of state or civic control over economic or other services, does not of necessity involve anything in the nature of socialism. Indeed, nothing that is at present being attempted in these lines is at all socialistic. The question is not whether the state discharges few or many positive functions, but whether it does so in accordance with present business methods, or on a basis of socialism. The only class of social theorists who advocate an attitude of entire non-interference on the part of the state are the anarchists and extreme individualists like Mr. Spencer. But the principle involved in their case is that it is not the duty of the state to do anything of a positive nature, whether on an individualistic or a socialistic basis. Those, therefore, who differ from Mr. Spencer and the anarchists in this matter are not of necessity socialists.

The real question with reference to the greater or less extension of the positive functions of the state, is a question as to whether, all things considered, it is wise or not for the state to attempt, on present business lines, any particular enterprise in question. The problem of socialism in connection with present state functions is never raised. In the case of a city water-works or electric car service, for instance, the question between socialism and the present order of things is not a question as to whether or not the state should own and operate its water-works or car service, but whether it should operate them along the lines of modern business methods, or along the wholly different lines of the socialistic system. The taking over by the state of certain economic functions and services is no more a practical application of socialism than the relishing of a moderate meal is a practical illustration of gluttony. It is not a question of degree, it is a question of kind.

Observe, again, that in the postal service as carried on by our Dominion Government, the public school system as carried on by our Provincial Government, or the supply of water, light, drainage or insurance by a civic corporation, the various corporate bodies may or may not undertake to make the returns for the services rendered pay for the services, but may derive either the whole or part of their support from the general wealth of the

community by means of taxation. In securing the necessary instruments, machinery and other supplies, in engaging workmen and officials, these corporations conform to the present recognised business methods, at least they are most anxious to have us believe that they do. Nay, they may even carry the individualistic competitive system to its extreme, as in the case of the engagement of many public school teachers, wherein quality is sacrificed to cheapness. These various public bodies also exercise the liberty of dismissing their servants, and the servants have the liberty of leaving the public service. Even where pensions are given they are not at the expense of the services rendered, but at the public expense as represented by taxation. In a socialistic state, however, there could be no taxation upon which to fall back to replenish all waste and cover up all blunders. There could be no independent and self-responsible economic system from which both the taxes and what they purchase could be drawn, from which trained servants could be chosen, to which they could be returned, and in which the incapables could be left. In a socialistic state there could be no shirking of responsibility for the incapables, no thrusting back all refractory or vicious specimens upon general society, whose non-political institutions might be held responsible for them, as at present.

Under socialism the state must find steady employment for all the citizens and remunerate them out of the product of their labour ; it must induce the lazy and the parasitic to work, the grasshoppers to be provident and lay up something for winter ; it must take care of those who are incapable, through either their own or others' vices or misfortunes, of rendering any adequate return for their maintenance.

Whether or no actual socialism would or would not be able to bear all these and a hundred other burdens of like nature is a matter for separate consideration, but at any rate it is very evident that what is now loosely called state socialism is something radically different from actual socialism. In passing from one to the other, as I have said, it is not merely a question of degree, but a question of revolution in system.

In distinguishing from socialism the present extension of positive economic and other functions of the state, I must not be understood to be either justifying or condemning that extension.

So far I merely wish to emphasize the fact that to dub it socialism is no admissible criticism. To say, on the other hand, that where the extension is successful it proves the feasibility of socialism is equally groundless. Of the same nature is the assertion that the great modern trusts prove the feasibility of socialism. These institutions are built up on the basis of the present industrial system and express the natural evolution of that system in accordance with the changed conditions of machine production, capital investment and business competition. To argue, as is commonly done, that because socialism would do away with wasteful competition, and modern industrial combination does away with wasteful competition, therefore modern industrial combination is socialistic is of the same nature as to argue that to provide a living for one's family is praiseworthy, but highway robbery provides a living for one's family, therefore highway robbery is praiseworthy.

Our general conclusion is, then, that the justification or condemnation of state interference with the supply of social wants and the merits or demerits of modern industrial combinations are matters to be settled on the ground of their practical effects and their relations to the present condition of society, but they have no necessary connection with socialism.

So far as one is able to judge from the present appearance of the socialistic horizon, there is likely to continue a widening of the gap between the socialism of the street and the socialism of the study. The former will likely continue to attach less and less importance to the theory of socialism, and more and more importance to the necessity for grasping something concrete. It also will probably divide into two sections, the more intellectual forming a sort of radical political labour party, which, forgetting the real socialistic state, will devote itself to the amending of the present state in the interests of labour. In that direction it may work both good and evil; good in safeguarding the interests of labour, evil in committing the state to wild-cat expenditure for the sake of employing labour. The other and less intellectual section will continue to breathe forth fire and smoke in an incoherent manner, but with what power to do damage is wholly unpredictable since it will depend upon their numerical strength, the general prosperity and political condition of the countries af-

fect, and the character of the socialist leaders. The socialism of the study will never itself be dangerous, though some perverted forms of it, escaping to the street, may prove dangerous at times of national crisis. It will always find itself maintained by a certain morally indolent, can't-we-all-be-good-and-happy cast of temperament, whose theory of life begins with a morbid sympathy for the weaknesses of humanity, and ends in a sentimental metaphysic. Socialism, as a positive theory of society, like other nebulous things, exists and unfolds itself only so long as it can be maintained in an amorphous and vapory condition. So soon as it attempts to crystalize into something definite it drops to the ground, and experience is the chilling wind that brings about its condensation and fall.

ADAM SHORTT.

LA SIMPLICITÉ.

Fénélon, disait d'Alembert, a caractérisé lui-même en peu de mots cette simplicité qui le rendait si cher à tous les coeurs.

La simplicité est la droiture d'une âme qui s'interdit tout retour sur elle, et sur ses actions. Cette vertu est différente de la sincérité, et la surpasse. On voit beaucoup de gens qui sont sincères sans être simples. Ils ne veulent passer que pour ce qu'ils sont, mais ils craignent sans cesse de passer pour ce qu'ils ne sont pas. L'homme simple n'affecte ni la vertu ni la vérité même, il n'est jamais occupé de lui, il semble d'avoir perdu ce *moi* dont on est si jaloux.

THE GERM THEORY OF DISEASE.

THE germ theory of disease dates back to 1837, when Schwann and Cagniard de la Tour discovered the yeast plant. It was known before this that any sweet liquid when exposed to the air would ferment. It was also known that fermentation was an accompaniment of the manufacture of all kinds of wines and liquors, but the true cause of fermentation was not understood until after the discovery of the yeast plant. In 1857 Pasteur began his researches on the cause of musty ale. The London brewers were alarmed and discouraged by the heavy losses they sustained through large quantities of their ale "going bad." Pasteur was engaged to ascertain the cause and suggest a remedy. He soon demonstrated that bad ale meant ale that had been produced by bad fermentation. The brewers had allowed the ale to become contaminated by a large number of germs which grew in the fermenting liquid along with the yeast germ, and thus destroyed the taste and flavour. To secure good ale they had to employ pure materials, occupy clean premises, and use one kind of germ—the yeast, not a mixture of germs. As a result of Pasteur's early work, it has been found that the best qualities of wines, brandies, &c., depend upon the use of particular kinds of yeast: and in Germany there are laboratories which cultivate and sell to manufacturers of wines and liquors the special kinds of yeast required to produce the best kinds of liquors.

The yeast plant, and a number of others like it, propagate in two ways. When well fed, each distinct plant divides or buds, and thus gives rise to two. If not well nourished, the central mass of the plant shrinks and divides into four very minute bodies, the skin or outer wall ruptures and lets out into the air the four very minute bodies called spores. These spores or germs float away through the air, and if they happen to fall upon the surface of a sweetish liquid, start to grow and soon produce the yeast plant and the accompanying fermentation.

Thus far there seems to be very little connection between the yeast plant and the germ theory of disease, but there is a con-

nection nevertheless. Scarcely had Pasteur's work on musty ale been completed when he was asked by the French Minister of Agriculture to investigate the cause of the silk worm disease. The losses in this industry had been enormous, the production falling from 52,000,000 lbs. in 1853 to 8,000,000 in 1865. The disease was called pébrine, from the black spots which appeared all over the insect. The symptoms were languor, unequal growth, fastidiousness in the matter of food, and early death. The cause of the disease was discovered in 1849, but was not clearly recognized as the cause until 1857, when it was demonstrated to be due to a bacterium or very minute parasitic plant. These bacteria first infested the intestinal canal, and spread thence to every part of the body; they filled the silk cavities, the blood vessels, the lymph spaces. The sick worm went through all the movements of spinning the silk, but there was no raw material in the silk glands, and the delirious movements had no more meaning than those of a typhoid patient in a fever hospital.

Pasteur proved that the germs might be in either the egg, the worm, the chrysalis, or the moth, although escaping detection by the microscope in the first two of these stages. He emphasized the fact that in order to have healthy worms for the following year, the eggs must be laid by healthy moths. To influence the cultivators, he played the role of prophet. He undertook to foretell the results of the next season's hatching by a microscopic examination of the moths and the eggs which they produced. Of fourteen batches of eggs which he pronounced bad, twelve produced no worms, and the other two produced only half a crop. Two batches which he pronounced healthy produced a full crop. He confirmed his conclusions by feeding thirty healthy worms on food innoculated with germs taken from the bodies of diseased insects. This was begun on the 16th of April, and all of the thirty were dead by the 11th of May. The disease spread just as small-pox would, by simple contact through association, or by wounds made on each other by their claws.

In writing up his final report for the French government, Pasteur made use of the following remarkable words: "It is in the power of man to make infectious diseases disappear from the face of the earth, if, as is my conviction, spontaneous generation is a myth." The "if" introduced a tremendous limitation.

Aristotle had taught the doctrine of spontaneous generation of all lowly kinds of animals and plants. The doctrine had come down unimpeached through the long periods of the middle and dark ages, and was firmly rooted in the popular mind, and in a large part of the scientific mind of the day. All admitted the presence of the bacteria or parasitic plants in diseased organs, but the large majority claimed that the bacteria were the natural products of disease—its invariable accompaniment ; while a solitary worker here and there proclaimed spontaneous generation a myth, and boldly pronounced bacteria the *cause* of disease and not its *result*.

One step remained to be taken and the credit of taking it is due to the late Professor Tyndall. By a series of experiments on germs and dust particles in air, experiments the thoroughness of which has never been excelled, Tyndall proved that spontaneous generation is a myth. All life comes from life : the inanimate never produces the animate, or if it does, we have no means of recognizing the fact.

All our contagious diseases are due to and are spread by parasitic plants or their germs getting into the body and producing there the symptoms of the particular diseases to which they give rise. It has, of course, long been known that certain diseases as small-pox, scarlet fever and the like are highly contagious ; but the reason why they are contagious, and the explanation of how they spread from place to place, can only be said to have been satisfactorily demonstrated during the past few years. The central idea in the explanation of the spread of contagious disease is not hard to understand. An illustration will make the matter clear. Suppose you stood and looked at a freshly ploughed piece of land. On it you could see growing not a single blade of grass, flower or shrub. It was all black rich earth. Suppose you did not see that same field for some months. And now as you look it over carefully, you see blades of grass, dandelion, mallow, burs, thistles and all sorts of weeds. *Not one* of you would believe for one moment that these weeds and grasses had been produced spontaneously by the earth. On the contrary, you would believe, no matter what any man said to the contrary, that the grass and weeds had grown from seeds, and that the seeds had either been sown by man, or been wafted there by the winds from adjoining fields. Like comes from like. Every plant produces seed after its

kind, and the seed invariably grows when it falls upon suitable soil, and has suitable surroundings in the shape of warmth and light.

Now, in exactly the same way contagious diseases are spread. From the breath, or skin, or from the excreta of patients suffering from an infectious disease are given off very small seeds—spores we call them. They are wafted hither and thither by the air, get into the lungs or mouth or stomach, or through the skin by an abraded surface into the blood, and spreading through the body, give rise to the same kind of disease as the one from which the original patient was suffering. Just as mustard or chicory or thistles on one man's farm will cross the fences and roads, and spread over his neighbour's farm; so the spores of scarlet fever will spread from one child in a house to another, until it "goes through" the whole family. And just as all thistle seeds which fall on a farm do not grow, because some of them may not happen to fall upon congenial soil, so too all the spores of scarlet fever or consumption do not produce disease in those who come into contact with the germs.

There is no foundation for the popular belief that bacteria are generally harmful. The very opposite is the truth. Many species are known to be very useful; a vast number may be either useful or indifferent, we know not which; and a very few indeed are hurtful or disease producing.

To the first class will belong plants like the yeast, or those that produce the souring of milk, or the putrefaction of animal matter. To this same class belong those plants which return nitrogen to exhausted soil (nitrification bacteria) and those which give the best taste and flavour to butter and cheese. Those of our readers who are not familiar with modern butter-making will be somewhat surprised to learn that there is a close resemblance between the process of making good ale and that of making good butter; and between making bad or musty ale, and bad or rancid butter. For, just as Pasteur insisted on the necessity for using clean vessels, pure material and uncontaminated yeast, so the scientific butter maker of to-day insists upon using clean vessels, pure cream, and the uncontaminated ferment, whose action on the cream produces butter of fine taste and flavour. Of course, it is hardly necessary to say that the butter ferments or plants

are not the same as yeast, and just as a mixture of ferments get into and contaminate ale, so different kinds of butter ferments good and bad, get into cream and determine the quality of butter produced. So thoroughly is it known that the manufacture of the best quality of butter depends upon the best butter ferments, that laboratories have been established in North America and in Europe, in which the best butter ferments are cultivated and from which they are sold to butter factories.

The noxious or disease-producing bacteria are comparatively few in number. Some twenty-three diseases are infectious, and of this number thirteen are known to be produced by specific bacteria or parasitic plants. In the case of typhoid fever, relapsing fever, erysipelas, diphtheria, cholera, malarial fevers, yellow fever, septic disease or blood poisoning, glanders, malignant pustule (anthrax), trichinosis, tuberculosis (consumption) and gangrene, the specific parasitic plant or animal has been isolated and identified. But in the case of typhus fever, scarlet fever, measles, small-pox, influenza (la grippe), rabies, whooping cough, and some others, the specific bacteria have not yet been recognized; because the difficulties in the way of determining what one particular organism is the cause of a disease are in some cases almost insurmountable.

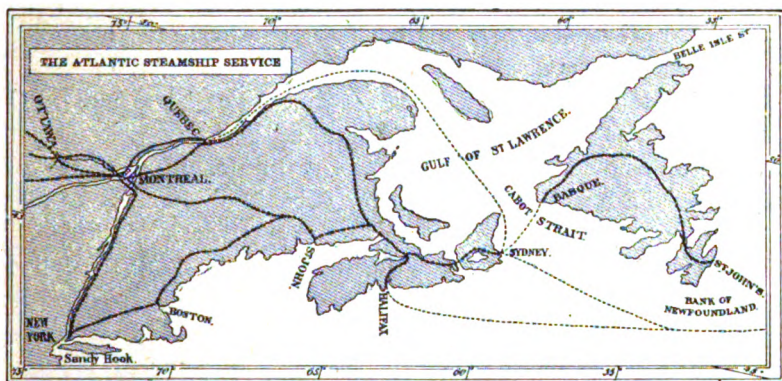
All these minute parasitic plants are within certain limits subject to the same influences as our common plants. For example, boiling water kills them. Extreme cold has no effect on them—even cold so great as 107° C. below zero. Sunlight kills some kinds (the harmful ones), but is favourable to the growth of others. Chemical substances, such as strong alcohol, bleaching powder, carbolic acid, bichloride of mercury, and mineral acids kill them. Some will grow in air; some out of air.

Certain fluid substances are particularly favourable soils for their growth, such as decoctions of fruit, vegetables or flesh. Blood serum, jelly mixed with beef-tea, and boiled potato are the substances on which micro-organisms of all kinds are grown in a biological laboratory.

A. P. KNIGHT.

OUR ATLANTIC STEAMSHIP SERVICE.

III.



SINCE the publication of my two papers on the Atlantic Steamship service, a provisional contract has been entered into with a responsible firm for the establishment of the long contemplated "fast" line: In this agreement the executive has not declared itself in favour of an extreme northern route. The Straits of Belle Isle have not been named, and there is nothing in the terms of the contract to prevent the adoption of conditions in my view of paramount importance. Prominent among these conditions is the establishment of a "port of call" during the open season on the eastern Atlantic coast of Nova Scotia, such as in a previous communication I have taken upon myself to advocate.

In the two papers which have appeared I did not enter into the circumstances which led me to investigate the subject. I conceived that it was neither necessary nor expedient so to do. I have, however, been advised that the facts by which I have been influenced are not without importance. On this theory I am impelled to submit them to public attention as a continuation of what has been already submitted by me on the subject.

On September 21st, 1895, my youngest son embarked at Montreal, with many other passengers, on board the steamship "Mariposa," of the Dominion line, for Liverpool. Three days afterwards, in a dense fog, the vessel while steaming at the rate of 5 or $5\frac{1}{2}$ knots an hour was wrecked in the Straits of Belle Isle. The official enquiry, afterwards instituted, elicited the fact that the officers of the ship considered it dangerous to proceed at a greater speed than 5 or $5\frac{1}{2}$ knots, owing to icebergs. In this instance, notwithstanding the caution exercised, the steamship "Mariposa" became a total wreck.

On August 6th, 1896, I myself embarked at Liverpool on the steamship "Sardinian," of the Allan line, for Quebec. On the evening of August 12th, when nearly 300 miles off Belle Isle, we experienced a fog so dense that the captain deemed it prudent to stop the engines.

The ship made no progress during the night. On the following morning the fog lifted and revealed to those on board an immense iceberg directly in front of the vessel. Had we struck the iceberg, even at a moderate speed, a disaster of the most serious kind would inevitably have resulted. Certainly nothing could have saved a 20 knot passenger steamship at full speed dashing against such a formidable obstruction.

When a Fast Service through the Straits of Belle Isle was being strongly advocated, and when Parliament had granted a large subsidy in favour of the project, these two circumstances forcibly directed my attention to the matter. They brought back to the memory other occurrences on the Belle Isle route which trans-Atlantic travellers will not soon forget: among them collisions with icebergs by the steamships "Lake Superior," "Lake Nepigon" and "Vancouver" between 1890 and 1894, the total wreck on Belle Isle of the steamships "Mexico" in 1895 and "Montreal" in 1889, and at an earlier date the crushing by ice and sinking of the steamship "Canadian," of the Allan line, the second of the name, at the entrance of the Straits.

The knowledge of these occurrences in the same locality, apparently proceeding from the same causes, awakened in my mind the desire, from a sense of public duty, to make a careful study of the whole question. My object was to ascertain how far it would be possible to prevent such accidents and avoid great risks,

in establishing a Canadian fast steamship service worthy of the name. After a full investigation, it seemed to me proper to make known the conclusions that irresistibly forced themselves upon my mind.

The evidence goes to show that the obstacles to safe navigation at high speed on the Belle Isle Route are icebergs in thick weather. The prevalence of such weather is indicated by the fog tables in my first paper. All testimony establishes that frequently the approaches to the Straits, and the Straits themselves, are beset with icebergs, and that indeed they are never entirely absent. As icebergs are continually moved by currents it is not possible, unless they become aground, to predetermine their position. If they remained stationary their exact place could be shown on charts, and means could be taken to give warning of danger to approaching vessels. But no system has yet been devised by which a sea pervaded for hundreds of miles by icebergs can be navigated at any speed, with safety, in thick weather.

It has been argued that steamships can proceed slowly through the iceberg region, and especially during the periods, so common, when the dangers are concealed by fog. Such a principle of caution however admirable in itself would not fulfil the purposes of a fast line; moreover as in the case of the S. S. "Mariposa," which I have cited, the speed reduced even to 5 or 5½ knots is not a guarantee against disaster.

As the strength of a chain is determined by its weakest link, the navigation of the Straits of Belle Isle may be held to determine the character of the northern route, and the only logical conclusion is, that, the use or disuse of that route between Montreal or Quebec and Great Britain, will eventually determine the failure or success of the Canadian Line of Fast Steamships; for obviously the loss of a "Lucania" or a "Teutonic" on a passage through the Straits of Belle Isle would be fatal to the enterprise, in its hold on public favour and patronage.

In my second paper I pointed out that if in place of following the route by the Straits of Belle Isle, the steamships are required to pass through the Cabot Straits, the objection I have raised would, if not entirely, to a large extent be removed. The difference between the two routes may be briefly stated. Icebergs on

the Cabot Strait route can be avoided by a sufficient deflection to the south, while on the northern route there is no escape from them, for it traverses the region in which they are so frequently met. The northern route is the shorter by about 170 miles, a saving of distance which would give an advantage of 8 or 9 hours over the southern route, provided that full speed can be maintained. As full speed cannot be maintained without a concurrence of favourable conditions such as the non-prevalence of icebergs, absence of fog with clear nights, it is obvious that the gain in time can rarely be realized. This important consideration must be earnestly weighed. The northern route has the one possible advantage only, that a few hours may occasionally be saved on the whole voyage when every condition is favourable; is this one possible advantage sufficient to counterpoise the tremendous risks to which fast passenger steamships, in navigating the Belle Isle route, would so seriously and so frequently be exposed? I am myself unable to answer that question in the affirmative.

In the event of the southern route being chosen as the one to be followed, the establishment of a "port of call" near Cabot Strait, would involve but little delay to steamships running between Montreal or Quebec and Liverpool, on the other hand it would be fraught with many benefits.

Few can refuse to admit that the people of the three Maritime Provinces—New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Nova Scotia—have strong claims to be considered in the determination of this problem. With the establishment of a "port of call" at or near Cabot Strait, they will simply be placed in a corresponding position in relation to the "Fast Line" so the people of Quebec and Ontario. Without this arrangement, in order to cross the Atlantic, they will be forced to take a long journey westward to Quebec or Montreal, in order to embark on an eastward bound steamship; or, indeed, they might, in some cases, find it more convenient to proceed *via* New York; in either case entailing expense, fatigue and loss of time. This unnecessary tax on the people of these Provinces, going and returning from Europe, would be removed or greatly diminished by the establishment of an eastern "port of call."

Another important consideration presents itself: the claim of

Newfoundland on the Dominion of Canada. This ancient colony at this date is not one of the Canadian Provinces. She is, however, a sister Province under the same sovereign, and has relationships to us, which we should never lose sight of. A "port of call" for our trans-Atlantic fast steamships established near the entrance to the Gulf would extend the greatest benefit to Newfoundland. On the other hand, such a policy would occasion but little delay, and would cost the Dominion nothing.

Is it not the duty of Canada, from the prominence of her position in the British Imperial system, to extend a helping hand in this instance? No one will deny that this important question should be considered in a proper spirit. There is, indeed, an extreme probability, when it is submitted to practical examination by the Imperial and Dominion authorities, that the views I have presented will not escape observation, and that the establishment of an eastern "port of call" will be determined on some such principle as that indicated.

If Sydney be constituted during the summer months the "port of call," a steam ferry to Port aux Basque would connect it directly with the Trunk Line of Railway through Newfoundland, and would result in giving to that colony a position as nearly as possible corresponding with that of one of our Maritime Provinces.

An examination of the plate at the head of this article, showing the relative position of Newfoundland and the Eastern Provinces of Canada, with the existing lines of railway and the proposed steamship route, will make the proposal clear. It will be obvious how much the suggested combination of great lines of communication by land and sea will tend to consolidate British interests on this continent.

The contract is to extend over ten years, a period sufficiently long for the settlement of several questions bearing on rapid trans-Atlantic navigation. Regarded simply as an experiment, the step taken must be held to be of great national importance.

SANDFORD FLEMING.

THE BABYLONIAN STORY OF THE FLOOD.

PROFESSOR Paul Haupt, of the Johns Hopkins University, has been for some time engaged in translating the tablets, found many years ago amid the ruins of Nineveh, which tell about the flood. The *New York Journal* (February 7, 1897) gives the following translation, which Professor Haupt has pronounced correct. These tablets are copies made for King Assurbanipal six hundred years before Christ, but it is generally believed by scholars, from internal evidence, that the story goes back beyond the time of Moses, and probably much beyond it:

1. Gilgames spoke to him, to Par-Napistim, the translated.
2. I see thee (with wonder), O Par-Napistim.
3. Thine appearance is unchanged, like me art thou;
4. Yes, thou art indeed unchanged, like me art thou.
5. Although thou art cut off from life while I must (still) fight the battle
6. Against that which no longer rests upon thy shoulders.
7. Tell me, how camest thou (here), in the council of the gods to find (everlasting) life.
8. Then said Par-Napistim to Gilgames,
9. To thee, Gilgames, shall I disclose the secret.
10. Of my translation to the gods, also shall I tell thee.
11. Thou knowest the city Suripak,
12. Which lieth on the banks of the Euphrates.
13. This city was old (sinful). Hence, to the gods,
14. Came the thought to bring a flood, the great gods
15. Were assembled: their father, the god Anu,
16. Their adviser, the grim god Bel.
17. Their Destroying-Angel, the god Adav;
18. Their leader, the god Ennugi.
19. The Lord of inscrutable wisdom sat by them, but (on the watch)
20. And he made known the plan to the reed-huts.
21. Reed-huts! Reed-huts! Stone-houses, stone-houses!
22. Reed-huts, hear! Stone-houses, hearken!
23. Suripakit, son of Ubaratutu!

24. Make a house, build a ship !
25. Leave your possessions, try (to save) your life.
26. Leave your belongings, save your life !
27. Take up into the ship seed of life of every kind.
28. The ship which you are to build,
29. Let its lines be long,
30. And its breadth and depth equal.
31. On the sea let it float.
32. When I heard this I said to the god Ea : My Lord !
33. Thy command, O Lord, which thou hast just given
34. Shall I obey and follow,
35. [But] what shall I say to the city, to the people and the chiefs.
36. The god Ea opened his mouth and said—
37. Spoke to me, his servant :
38. Thus shalt thou speak to them :
39. Bel has banished me and hates me,
40. Therefore I cannot stay in your city,
41. On Bel's earth can I not remain.
42. To the sea shall I go, to remain with my Lord Ea.
43. Upon you, however, a flood will pour down ;
44. Man, birds, beast will die ; the fish
45. common.
46. When the sun brings about the time, then will the ruler of the
hurricane
47. Rain destruction down upon you at evening.
48. When [the first appearance of sunrise] is seen—
49. . . . 50. . . . 51. . . . 52. . . . 53. .
54. fruits of the earth
55. walls
56. Powerful (?) . . . The needed plane at hand.
57. On the 5th day I began to join the hulk together.
58. Its sides were 120 cubits high on the outside.
59. And likewise 120 cubits was the breadth of its decks.
60. I joined its bow and fastened it tight (the whole ship).
61. Then I built 6 decks in it.
62. Thus I divided it into 7 stories.
63. The interior (of each of the 7 stories) I divided into 9 apart-
ments.
64. Water pegs (in all the joints) did I drive in all over,
65. I sought out a mast and provided the needed fittings.
66. 6 sar of pitch I used to caulk it.

67. 3 sar of naphtha (I took) on board.
68. While the people, who bore the ship's sussul, brought 3 sar of oil.
69. I kept one sar of oil which was needed for the offering.
70. 2 sars of oil did the pilot set aside.
71. For I slaughtered oxen.
72. I killed daily.
73. Jars with sesame, oil and wine.
74. Large casks like the water of a river.
75. A feast as on New Year's day.
76. consecrated oil my hand laid.
77. the ship was completed.
78. The of the ship was brought up and in,
79. The weather sides of the ship sank $\frac{2}{3}$ in the water.
80. With all that I possessed I loaded it,
81. With all the silver that I had I loaded it,
82. With all the gold that I had I loaded it.
83. Also every living thing of every kind, that I had,
84. I took on board my whole family and my servants,
85. Cattle of the meadows, beasts of the field and artisans, all these I took aboard.
86. When the sun brings the appointed time,
87. That the ruler of the whirlwind should send the destructive rain,
88. Then go aboard and close the door after you.
89. When this time came,
90. That the ruler of the whirlwind should send a heavy rain in the evening,
91. Then I looked upon the earth,
92. But I was afraid to look at the earth.
93. I went aboard the ship and closed the door after me,
94. To the captain of the ship, Puzur-Sadurabu, the pilot,
95. I turned over the great house with all its cargo.
96. When the first rays of sunshine appeared,
97. The dark clouds rose on the horizon.
98. In which Ramman lets his thunder crash,
99. While Nebo and the "King" go before.
100. And the Destroying-Angel strode over mountain and valley.
101. Uragal let loose the elements,
102. Adar passed scattering woe.
103. The Annunnak bear torches,

104. By whose sheen they light the earth.
105. Although Ramman's whirling dust-cloud rises to heaven
106. And all light is changed to darkness.
107. . . . of the land [crash] like an earthen vessel.
108. The first day of the storm
109. Raging stormed . . . the . . . hand
110. As in battle they descend upon man
111. Brother regards not brother,
112. Men trouble not about one another ; (even) in heaven
113. The gods fear the flood,
114. They escape to the (highest) heaven of Anu.
115. The gods crouch like dogs, cower behind heaven's lattices.
116. Istar cries like a woman in travail.
117. The sublime goddess cries with a loud voice.
118. Thus is then the old world (again) made mire,
119. Because I, in the council of the gods, have sworn evil to it,
120. Because I, in the council of the gods, have sworn evil to it.
121. The exterminating war against mankind have I sworn.
122. But I will reestablish my mankind,
123. Even if now they fill the sea like chaff.
124. Then the gods wept with her on account of the Spirits of the Deep,
125. The gods were prostrated, sat there wailing with woe.
126. Their lips were pressed tight together, all were paralyzed.
127. Six days and nights
128. Wind, wave, and storm raged over the earth.
129. At the coming of the seventh day, however, the storm was laid
(and) the flood, which at battle
130. Had waged like a war-lord.
131. The sea became still, hurricane and flood ceased.
133. As I looked at the world, I wept aloud,
134. For all men were again become mire,
135. The dammed up fields and marshes were become as one.
136. I opened a window and as the light of day fell on my face,
137. My knees bent under me, I had to sit down and weep.
138. Over my face flowed the tears.
139. I looked in every direction, except at the sea ;
140. But after twice twelve hours, an island arose,
141. The ship was held by Mount Nizir.
142. The mount, Mount Nizir, held the ship fast and let it not move.
143. The first and the second day Mount Nizir held the ship fast
and let it not move.

144. Also the third and fourth day Mount Nizir held the ship fast and let it not move.

145. Likewise on the fifth and sixth day Mount Nizir held the ship fast and let it not move.

146. When the seventh day broke,

147. I took a dove out and let it loose.

148. The dove flew hither and thither,

149. But as no resting-place was there, it returned.

150. Then I took a swallow, and let it loose.

151. The swallow flew hither and thither,

152. But as there was no resting-place, it returned.

153. Then I took a raven, and let it loose.

154. The raven flew away and saw the decrease of the waters,

155. Ate, while he croaked, wading in the mire, but returned no more.

156. Then I loosed all to the four winds. There I brought an offering.

157. I prepared an oblation on the summit of the mountain.

158. Full seven jars for libation I ranged in order ;

159. In their bowls I planted calamus, cedarwood, and incense.

160. The gods smelled the savour,

161. The gods smelled the sweet savour.

162. The gods gathered like flies about the offering.

163. When then the sublime goddess came down

164. She seized the precious jewel which Anu had made according to her desire.

165. Ye gods here, by the beauty of my neck, never will I forget !

166. Of this day shall I be mindful, never shall I forget it.

167. The gods may come to the oblation.

168. But Bel must not come to the oblation.

169. Because he rashly caused the flood,

170. And delivered up my human beings to annihilation.

171. When the god Bel came thither,

172. And saw the ship, then Bel grew furious,

173. Full of anger was he against the gods and the Igigh.

174. By whom the living beings had escaped,

175. No man shall remain alive at the destruction !

176. Then the god Adar opened his mouth and spoke,

177. Spoke to grim Bel.

178. No one save Ea could do such a thing,

179. Ea knows all the arts.

180. Then Ea opened his mouth and said.
181. He spoke to grim Bel :
182. Thou art the grim leader of the gods.
183. How could'st thou be so rash as to cause a flood ?
184. Let the sinner bear (the consequences) of his own sins,
185. The evil-doer bear (the consequences) of his misdeeds,
186. But have some foresight, that not (all) be destroyed, be gracious that not (all) be annihilated.

From THE LITERARY DIGEST.

REPLY OF DOCTOR KINGSFORD

TO THE STRICTURES ON VOLUME VIII. OF THE HISTORY OF
CANADA IN THE REVIEW OF HISTORICAL PUBLICA-
TIONS RELATING TO CANADA.

ANY writer of history, which embraces a period of importance, must look for differences of opinion to be entertained on many points included in his narrative; but he has the right to expect that such views are expressed with fairness and courtesy, and that the criticism to which he may be subjected is not advanced upon personal, but upon literary grounds. There is more than one school of thought in the estimate of public events and of public men, but there is only one standard of right and wrong, which in no case can with impunity be violated. The unfairness and the absence of honest representation with regard to the last volume of my history shown in the late publication issued under the authority of the University of Toronto bring this view forcibly into prominence*. Unless for the circumstance that the attack,

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it cannot be called a criticism, had been made under this authority, I should treat with disregard the opinions expressed, for there is little in the article to command respect or attract attention. Written anonymously, the editor of the publication must be responsible for its arrogance of tone, its acerbity of expression, and (what is of greater importance as affecting his character as a Professor of History) for the erroneous views it expresses regarding the facts of history and the superficial information it displays. Only that the statements made appear with the *imprimatur* of his University, I should allow them to pass unnoticed. Given to the world under the authority of the Senate, I feel called upon to reply lest my silence should be construed as an acceptance of their correctness.

I will briefly deal with the personal allusions to myself. I have to act in this case as many men have to do in a difficult position. I have to throw myself on my character and refer to the text of the book. Mr. Wrong, in his barbarous English, once before this occasion wrote of me that I was not a "stylist," whatever the word may mean—an expression to call forth from the Toronto press a contemptuous reproof, as he doubtless well remembers. My text can be adduced to show the character of the English I write, as well as the care taken by me to represent what I hold to be the truth. I am told that in this book there is an excessive amount of careless writing. If the defects claimed be admitted, they must not be attributed to this cause. My sheets in form were jealously read by a friend, to whose criticism they were subjected. From feelings of delicacy I do not mention his name. He is an associate of King's College, London, one of the highest honours attainable in the world of letters; a graduate of Oxford, where he took high honours and obtained a reputation rarely surpassed; in Montreal he is known by his brilliant and learned contributions to periodical literature, by his admirable and unsurpassed translations of Horace, and, among other writings, by a volume of poems of the highest merit. He is a member of the Royal Society. Although unnamed, his identity is sufficiently plain. If I wrote bad English, he is *particeps criminis* in allowing it to pass. He differs in his training and attainments from Mr. Wrong, as he surpasses him in learning, courtesy and reputation.

Who the unsigned critic may be I have yet to learn. This, however, may be said of him. He writes as one living in a petty parish community, imperfectly educated with some superficial, miscellaneous reading; with an unbounded admiration for obscure United States authorities, and with an unfathomable opinion of his own powers and merits; a living example of the truth of the oft-quoted French proverb, that *au royaume des aveugles les borgnes sont rois*.

This person complains of the want of sufficient references to my authorities. Any general accusation of this character is easily made and must go for what it is worth. In my humble judgment I have given all the references that are necessary. I was desirous of avoiding any complication of my text by irrelevant and unnecessary notes, and all cumbersome repetition of fact: an essential of all narrative. Notes, indeed, as a rule, are needed only when it is necessary to enforce attention to a disputed fact; or when an opinion expressed is at variance with the view generally entertained. It is likewise imputed to me as a literary crime that I have relied on what is to be found in the Canadian archives, the transcripts of the British official documents of the time, which furnish a true and reliable basis for historical narrative. It is also made a matter of accusation that I supplemented these researches by the British writers, James and Richardson, and that I fail to cite United States authorities, except those of eighty years ago. This writer fails to allude to my reference to Mr. Henry Adams, the author of the best published history of the presidential rule of Jefferson and Madison, when I "acknowledge my many obligations to him" for his "laboriously collected information." [Vol. VIII, p. 21.] He admits, however, that I cite the "prejudiced and untrustworthy Wilkinson" epithets easily explained, for Wilkinson is antagonistic to his theories of Procter's conduct at Sackett's Harbour.

Indeed, there is no point on which he fails generally to dilate, to shew what I must be permitted to call a vulgar acerbity in his effort to depreciate my work. He complains of my speed of production with the complacent remark, "that hasty work almost invariably results in faulty workmanship." I have been ten years exclusively engaged upon my history. A sum in arithmetic will prove that a volume a year is no astounding effort, when the

whole time of a writer is given to his subject. Four pages a day is but a moderate average of production; and 125 days of such work will give a volume of 500 pages, leaving 240 days for examination, research and proof reading. It is not easy to write of one's self, but I believe that I may say with propriety that it is known to my friends that I have avoided society; that I rose at five every morning of my life in summer and winter; that for hours I was a daily attendant, either at the parliamentary library or at the archives branch, and that I sought information wherever it could be gained. With these facts I am justified in considering that Mr. Wrong's anonymous writer is as impertinent as he is unjust, either in pronouncing on a matter of fact of which he must be ignorant, or if knowing the facts in deliberately misrepresenting them.

I refer to the text of this volume for the proof of the conscientious care with which I have striven to write, and I challenge both editor and writer to produce a passage which they consider as "obscure and unintelligible." The very opposite is the opinion of men capable of judging from education, training and literary *status*, uninfluenced by the malignity apparent throughout this attack.

I turn to the historical statements to which I feel called upon specially to reply. This writer disputes my assertion (p. 132) that Mr. Foster, the British Minister at Washington, failed to announce the declaration of war by the United States to Brock in Upper Canada, leaving the fact to be communicated by the Governor-General. He takes this ground on the authority of a United States letter, which states that one Vosburgh was arrested on his return from Queenston after delivering Foster's despatches. Mr. McTavish is named as the "person concerned." On this slender ground he conceives he has authority for the fact that such despatch was sent by Foster to Brock. The contrary is generally considered to be the case. The first intimation Brock received of the war was from a newspaper containing the president's message confirming the news, with a communication from McTavish, McGillivray & Co., affirming the fact. The official news only reached Montreal on the 7th of July, and the following day, the 8th, was sent round to Brock. On the 10th Prevost wrote to Brock stating that from the disunion in the States the

"attempts on the Province must be feeble." At this time Hull was at Detroit preparing to invade Canada. There is no authority that Brock ever received such a despatch from the British minister. The party arrested may have brought letters to Canada; the probability is that it was the communication from McTavish, a partner in the firm by which the information was sent; indeed he is personally named as the "principal person concerned."*

On the authority of a despatch from Major-General Sheaffe, that Mr. Willcox (*sic*) was present at Queenston, the writer asserts that this person was the notorious traitor, Joseph Willcocks, who subsequently deserted to the United States, and was killed at Fort Erie towards the close of the war. There were others of the name, and very strong proof is required to prove that the "Willcox" named was the traitor Joseph Willcocks.

William Willcocks was a cousin of the Baldwin family. His history is given at some length by the late Mr. Dent in his *Canadian Portrait Gallery* [Vol. 1, p. 20]. Suffice it to say that he arrived in New York in 1797. Subsequently he reached York (Toronto), and it was by his influence that the elder Baldwin arrived in Canada in 1798; the grandfather of Robert Baldwin. His eldest son was established in Toronto, and subsequently mar-

*In order to show the want of value of the statements of this flippant, superficial writer, I append the narrative of the incident as given in the *Life and Correspondence of Sir Isaac Brock*, edited by his nephew, Ferdinand Brock Tupper (edition of 1847, pp. 188, 9). It is well known that this work is based on the MS. long in the possession of the general's last surviving brother, Savery. Its historical value is undisputed. The work has indeed taken its place in the national annals as a record of the man whose memory is held in universal reverence in the Dominion. The contradiction of this statement, as given in this volume on the shallow authority of a United States letter, relating a mere report, would scarcely have appeared possible except to the folly of this writer, who has adduced it as a warrant for the expression of a contrary opinion:

"Mr. Foster, the English minister at Washington, seems to have partaken of this delusion, for it does not appear that he had taken any precautionary measures to convey to the Governor of the British North American Provinces the earliest intelligence of the declaration of war, on the 18th June, 1812; and, had it not been for the prudent foresight of the agent of the British North-west Company at New York, who sent the intelligence by express, it is possible that the first intimation would have been received from the mouths of the American cannon. To Upper Canada Mr. Foster transmitted no notice whatever of the war, and Major-General Brock was left to learn it officially through the circuitous and dilatory channel of the Governor-General. Happily, individual diligence made up for this unpardonable neglect; and the war was known by private expresses at Montreal in Lower, and at Fort George in Upper Canada on the 24th of June, or in six days after its declaration at Washington."

ried Phoebe Willcocks. Two sons and four daughters accompanied the first Baldwin to Canada.

Willcocks had also children. We are told by Dr. Scadding (p. 138) that a William Willcocks was a pewholder in St. James' Church in 1813.

There was a third Willcocks, Charles, formerly of the Cork militia. He is mentioned by Dr. Scadding (p. 349) as having on one occasion challenged Joseph Willcocks, who failed to appear on the ground.

The Joseph Willcocks, declared with the constant positiveness of this writer to have been present at Queenston, was a member of the House of Assembly, which opened on the 27th July and was prorogued on the 5th of August, 1812. His whole conduct was antagonistic to the theory of his presence as a defender of Canada on this memorable day. With one Marcle, both of whom in a few months deserted to the United States, he did all he was able to encourage gloomy forebodings regarding the war, and it was by their influence that the House, by a majority of two, refused to pass the suspension of the habeas corpus act. Sixty-six days only elapsed from the prorogation of the House to the Battle of Queenston Heights on the 13th of October, and there must have been some extraordinary change in the opinions of this Willcocks for him to be present on the British side as a volunteer. Such a proceeding would have been totally at variance with his previous career and the opinions he professed. His subsequent conduct is antagonistic with any such line of conduct. In the proceedings of the Parliament of 1814, which met on the 15th of February, both he and Marcle are named in the list of members as having "deserted to the enemy." Sheaffe called the Parliament of 1813 on the 25th of February; it lasted to the 13th of March. It was after this date he deserted, and his name in no wise appears as a loyal man. Before the fact can be admitted that he was present at Queenston much stronger evidence must be given than the imperfect report quoted by this writer, that he is to be identified with the "Willcox" named by Sir Roger Sheaffe. I still adhere to my view that he was not present.

If there be a fact in the history of the country which is established, it is that although Prevost commanded in the opera-

tions against Sackett's Harbour, on their failure he delegated to Colonel Baynes the duty of writing the despatch describing them. The despatch of Prevost, written a few days later, does not do away with the facts: a striking contrast to his conduct at Chateauguay after de Salaberry's success, of which he assumed all the merit, although not present. James, says this writer, makes the same statement. He does more. He gives the despatch itself. This writer deems it necessary to defend Prevost's personal courage. I am not aware that it has been called in question. I may refer to what is said on this point by myself (p. 270), "that in the field he was without moral courage, irresolute, ever shrinking from responsibility." The writer of this so-called review calls me to account for not recognizing the statement made by Brenton. I have not done so, for I do not consider him worthy of credit. He was private secretary to Prevost, brought with him from Halifax to fill the position from which Ryland was displaced to create the opening. All that he has written has been to vindicate the memory of his chief. His efforts in this direction were continued after Prevost's death. Thus his statements are not to be accepted in preference to the evidence of the actors in the expedition. It was Brenton who was sent to England after the disastrous retreat from Plattsburg with a despatch dated from the State of New York, although it was plain by internal evidence that it had been written in Canada.

This writer is indignant that I do not attach weight to the authority of General Brown, who commanded the United States force. He shows a constant preference in this direction. He affirms in commercial language that my statement must be discounted on what he calls concurrent evidence, that is of Prevost himself, his secretary Brenton, and the assertions of the United States General Brown, that if the retreat had not been ordered, the troops would never have regained their ships. He accuses the writers who describe this attack in different language—the writer of the pamphlet "Veritas," and James, the historian of the war, as being Prevost's personal enemies. They were no more so than any other writer who may form a view unfavourable to Prevost's public character. The opinions they expressed were based on the facts as they were related, and the defence of

Prevost made by this writer will avail little against contemporary judgment and modern investigation. He uses the words, "such writers as James, Christie and Richardson." The last named must not be confounded with the Hon. John Richardson, supposed to be the author of the letters of "Veritas." He was afterwards known as Major Richardson, at the time an officer of the 49th, and the author of a history of the war in which he took part, and of several novels and memoirs. A careful examination of these works has in my mind proved their value; that of Richardson especially, for it is the narrative of the events in which he participated. To speak of these writers as malicious, and as guided by personal feeling, is sheer nonsense, while it may be said of Brenton that he avowedly wrote to defend his patrons. With the evidence at our command I contend that my account of the operations at Sackett's Harbour is substantially correct, and that very different testimony to that advanced by this writer must be produced to prove that such is not the case.

This writer, in his attempt to give a higher reputation to Prevost than I have felt it a duty to assign him, is careful not to refer to the despatch written by him after the success of de Salaberry at Chateauguay. I must content myself with repeating what I have said on this subject (Vol. III, p. 369): "I do not know a more disingenuous production in military history than this despatch dated the 31st of October, 1813. The first consideration is why Prevost should have written it at all. The record of the action should have been made by the officer in command, de Salaberry; but he is made to bear a thoroughly subordinate position. The conduct of Prevost in this case must be contrasted with his proceeding at Sackett's Harbour. The miscarriage which followed was attributable to his own orders, but to avoid the responsibility he directed his Adjutant-General to write the despatch, confining himself to the official duty of forwarding it. In this case he appropriated to himself the laurels of de Salaberry, to which he had not the shadow of a claim."

Prevost's reputation has long been determined in the mind of every enlightened student of history. His government was weak and irresolute; it is a mercy that it did not prove disastrous. Except for the genius of Brock, Upper Canada would have been

taken by Hull to offer a *point d'appui* to advance on Montreal. British power would then shortly have been reduced to the citadel of Quebec, if the citadel itself could have been defended. Brock received no encouragement in his defence of Upper Canada. On the contrary, he was counselled by Prevost against all activity of campaign.* Brock's energetic and bold advance was the dictate alone of his own loyal and gallant nature. Prevost's irresolute and weak policy was that of defence. He had endeavoured to obtain an armistice until negotiations could be opened with the British government. The President declined to enter into any such arrangement. On its termination Prevost issued a proclamation. In place of speaking in the bold language of a British governor, he made an apology that the expedition against Detroit had been undertaken.† Shortly afterwards he ordered the evacuation of that post, but Brock availing himself of the discretion allowed him did not act upon the order.

After Procter's disaster at the Thames on the 5th of October, 1813, Prevost's want of courage, and of that spirit of endurance by which the battle of life is won, came prominently to the surface. He was prostrated by the news and ordered the abandonment of Burlington heights, and the retreat of Vincent's force to Kingston. I venture here to reproduce what I have said regarding this order. [p. 376.] It may be considered a specimen of the slovenly English that this writer attributes to me, sustained by Mr. Wrong's declaration, that I am not a "stylist."

"Many powerful considerations presented themselves against the movement. There were many sick both at Burlington and York (Toronto). It was the commencement of November, when heavy rains are frequent. In modern times 'as spurs the weary traveller apace to gain the timely inn,' or as he drives over a cross country road to pass from one main line of communication to another, we still have some experience of trying journeys, wherein every rod we move we dread to break the axle. In those days the main roads themselves were often impassable at the late season, and to have abandoned the heights was to have

*Prevost to Brock. Given in Tupper's *Life*, page 201.

†Tupper's *Life of Brock*, p. 442.

left the sick to the mercy of the enemy, with the ordnance, stores, baggage and provisions, which could not have been moved. The necessity of leaving the sick behind to be cared for by the invaders would have suggested the avoidance of every act which might cause irritation on their part. Thus the stores could not have been destroyed when the retreating general asked that the sick he would have left behind him might be fed and cared for. There was also the abandonment of the strong position at Burlington heights, confidently believed to be unassailable when garrisoned and provisioned. Kingston, likewise, was short of provisions at the time, and the arrival of the western force would have led to much privation and have extended to results entirely unforeseen.

In civil life there was the painful consequence of subjecting the whole population to military occupation, to the exactions, enforced contributions and remorseless severity of the United States as conquerors. A council of war was held at Burlington heights, and it was resolved not to abandon the position but to hold the ground occupied, and await events."

Prevost appropriated to himself the credit of introducing the war money bills. According to Mr. Gordon Drummond, the proposition had its origin with Commissary-General Robinson, and was simply countenanced by Prevost as Governor-General.

Plattsburg is too painful a recollection in Canada to these days to need comment. The very word is an epitaph for the chief actor in the disgrace, Sir George Prevost.

Such, briefly described, is the man, the defence of whom has been undertaken by the writer of the article, and countenanced by the Professor of History of Toronto University in a publication brought out under the auspices of the Senate. I do not conceive that the puny arguments in their pages will in any way modify the view expressed in Canadian history with regard to this personage, even if enforced in the lectures of the professor.

A similar defence is also offered for Procter, who was tried by court-martial for his disgraceful conduct on the Thames. Although the light sentence passed on him was confirmed, it was most unacceptable to the Horse Guards, and only acquiesced in, from the impossibility of reassembling the court; while the general officer commanding in Canada was desired to convey to

General Procter the Prince-regent's high disapprobation of his conduct.

Even this writer does not attempt to defend his conduct on the Thames ; he however brings into prominence, the 'energy and decision' with which the attack was made against General Winchester on the 21st of January, 1813, at Frenchtown. There is no question to be raised on this point. The objection is urged against his mode of attack. Procter's generalship led him to commence the assault of the position with 3 pdrs. Had a man like Harvey been in command he would as at Stoney Creek, have stormed the entrenchments with the bayonet, for the United States force had been surprized. The attack having been opened by artillery permitted the United States infantry to occupy the *banquette* from which they poured upon the advancing British troops a destructive fire. The consequence was that out of a force of 500 men 24 were killed and 158 wounded, making a total of 182 casualties.

The writer says little of the advance on Fort Meigs on the River Maumee. He, however, unwarrantably assigns the failure of Procter's attempt to his Indian contingent. He is silent with regard to the deplorable attack of Sandusky, in which Procter's deficiency in the qualities of a great commander is painfully shewn. I must follow the example given me in the cursory notice of these events by referring the reader to my volume (VIII. pp. 302-309), and by stating that I in no way modify the opinions I have expressed on these two events.

From the length which this paper is attaining I do not deem it necessary to enter into a critical examination of the battle of Chrystler's—and it is not important whether or not this writer considers some of the details a misconception, as they are given by me. The main features of the campaign remain uncontradicted.

On the points into which I have entered, I have shewn the little claim to respect the opinions of this writer present, when he treats of the leading events of the war, and the characters of two of the most prominent personages in its history.

But what is to be said of the petty spite and meanness which gloats over some misprints of names and dates, plainly typographical errors, or at the worst, as shown by the text, slips

of the pen of the author? Anyone of fairness would recognize them to be errors of accident, and not make them a matter of reproach. They occur more or less in every book which contains many hundred names and dates in the 601 pp. of text. No one trained in literary work, who owed his position to his own merit and experience, but would be guided by sympathy with work of importance exacting thought, research and continuous labour. No one except from malignity of purpose would think of parading his discovery of such faults with evident feelings of mean satisfaction. Many are so plainly the fault of proof-reading as to be unworthy of comment such as 95th for 98th, 44th for 49th, Baccus for Backus, Rainsfeld for Rainsford, Bambridge for Bainbridge, Fort Talbot for Port Talbot, and many such slips. I leave to the writer and the professor of history their enjoyment of the satisfaction they experience at their enumeration of mistakes, which I feel as little satisfaction in recognizing as they are gratified in pointing out.

There is, however, an asserted error on the part of this writer and accepted by his editor which is simply astounding. It is stated that on page 130 of my volume Marcle is given by mistake for Mallory in the paragraph in which I stated that Willcocks and Marcle had deserted to the enemy. If the writer had referred to the journals of 1814, on the meeting of the house on the 15th of February, he might have read that on the roll of the members being called, six were absent: Wilson sick; McDonnell, Clench and McGregor prisoners with the enemy; while Abraham Marcle and Joseph Willcocks are mentioned as having deserted to the enemy. This correction of so-called error on the part of the writer is not the blunder of a proof reader; it is simply a record of ignorance of the records of the Upper Canada legislature on the part of the writer and editor.

Objection is made that I have increased the number of my volumes by giving a narrative of the American revolutionary war, and a long description of the disputes with the United States which led to the declaration of war of 1812; that I have included the account of the capture of Washington, the attack on Baltimore and the battle of New Orleans; further that I have included in my history an account of the naval actions. I have to reply simply that I felt it a duty so to act. I cannot be ac-

cused of pilfering the labours of others. Even those unfriendly to me cannot arraign me for the crime of "padding out" my pages. Indeed the labour bestowed on this portion of my history was by no means of small account. The explanation I have to offer is that I considered it essential that in the Dominion we possess a correct knowledge of these events for they form a part of the history of the continent indispensable to the comprehension of our own national position.

The American revolution was the parent of the settlement of Upper Canada. The operations at Washington, and at New Orleans, with the naval actions, form a part of the war in which Canada bore so distinguished a part. Not only do I entertain no feeling of regret that I have included these narratives in my history, but I claim recognition for having rendered a national service in having written of these events so that no misrepresentation concerning them may arise. Every writer of a work of this character which has occupied upwards of ten years of his life must himself be the judge of the principles by which he will be guided. He cannot hope always to have on his side even critics friendly to him. He must throw his bread on the waters and trust to the future for the fair appreciation of his motives, and the just estimate of his labours.

This writer expresses himself arbitrarily on the point that I have failed to consult American authorities, and that there is a deficiency of notes and references. On these two points the writer is entitled to his opinion. I only consider it necessary to reply that I am not impressed with it; whatever my defects, in my own view they do not lie in this direction.

I am called in question for being deficient in allusions to the social and industrial life of the people, the condition of agriculture, the increase of commerce, the development of trade. This writer fails to bear in mind that the volume he has seen fit to call in question includes the period 1808-1815, seven years only; that it is devoted to the events which led to the war, and to the war itself. Accordingly it was not the place for such considerations. If reference be made to the other volumes, he will find these subjects treated to the extent that it is possible. If the writer has any general knowledge of Canadian history he must know that there is scanty allusion to these points in contempor-

aneous literature, and that reliable information regarding them is by no means widely given. The people of Upper Canada, in the early years of settlement, were so occupied in the struggle of life as to give little thought to "progress" in the enlarged meaning of the word, except so far as it influenced their own fortunes; and what leisure they possessed was principally occupied by the part taken by them in political life.

As to the mission of John Henry, I conceive that I have bestowed all the attention upon its details, that they call for. I do not recognize that it exercised so wide an influence as to demand a more extended allusion than I have given to it. It attracted some attention at the time in the United States and created some excitement for a long period, but it was without permanent effect. I cannot accept the view that it had great direct influence in the creation of the feeling which led to the declaration of war.

The length to which this paper has reached suggests that I should bring it to a close. There may be points in the onslaught upon my work upon which I have not touched; nevertheless I conceive that I have vindicated my claim that my record of the war of 1812 merits different consideration than has been accorded to it in the publication of Toronto university. I do not quarrel with the theory that opinions differing from mine should be expressed. Such a contradiction of view invariably presents itself in every department of literature and science. We may do our best to carry out the Horatian maxim:—" *Denique sit quidvis, simplex dumtaxat et unum.*" But, to repeat another of his sayings, "*quandoque bonus dormitat Homerus.*" The best of us often fail in our purpose and but partially achieve success. I feel, however, justified by every canon of criticism in denying the assertion that I have written hastily, and without care; and that I neglected authorities which, had I consulted them, would have led me to express opinions different to those I have written.

I must concede that it would have been more desirable if the proof reader's errors of dates, and the orthography of the uncommon names, of which much is said, did not call for remark. I do not desire to explain them away; I can only regret that they present themselves to give ground for unfriendly comment.

They do not, however, constitute what is called faulty proof reading. I may say that, while my friend allowed me to appeal to his overtaxed time to watch my language and expression of thought, to correct any slip of grammar and any clumsiness of expression that might have glided into the narrative, he undertook no critical watchfulness over the dates and names only to be met in the bye-paths of historic literature. Otherwise, I had no assistance in this work. My daughter laboriously copied my MS. and aided me in the proofs in the matter of orthography, or drew my attention to that which she considered obscure. My work has been performed single-handed, under what circumstances it will little interest the reader to learn.

It was undertaken as a national work. I can with much satisfaction say that in all quarters of journalism in the Dominion it has received full recognition from writers whom I had no power of influencing. Equally in the mother country it has been as kindly received by the press of world-wide celebrity, the conductors of which knew me only by my name as appearing on the title page. In any circumstance the history certainly deserves a better fate than that accorded by the individuals who have considered it in the University publication.

I do not recognize on the part of either writer or editor the possession of the erudition, reading, or critical capacity, to enable them to judge of such a work. As the editor of an unsigned article Mr. Wrong is responsible for the opinions it expresses, justifying Prevost and Procter, which suggests a very superficial acquaintance with Canadian history. He brings to my mind Professor Truffles in the play of Douglas Jerrold of "Time Works Wonders," which half a century ago caused great attention in the theatrical world :

"What are you doing, Truffles?" asked a friend, for the Professor is supposed to have fallen on evil days."

"I am giving lectures in Chinese," answers Truffles.

"Do you know Chinese?"

"I teach it."

The text of the paper suggests that in some such spirit Professor Wrong labours at his duties in the chair of history in Toronto University, especially as it is known that he has made the slight, imperfect, sketchy, insufficient work of Greswell a text book :

a book devoid of all information, written in the spirit of a magazine article to give condensed, superficial information regarding Canada to the members of the Imperial Institute. That such a proceeding should have been admitted by the Senate, and not called in question by the minister of education seems marvellous.

Under any circumstances, even of failure, the labour bestowed upon such a work as I have now completed, the last two volumes are in the printer's hands and will appear before the close of the year, should command consideration and forbearance, even in dealing with its shortcomings. Certainly it should not be disingenuously misestimated. These two persons are the solitary instances of injustice and misrepresentation among those who have written on it.

Not simply on my own behalf, but in the cause of literature, I enter my protest against unknown men of no *status* in literature arrogantly assailing the labours of a public writer, on no ground but their own weak device ; and, what is more important, against the propagation of false, erroneous and untenable views regarding our national history ; against setting admittedly reliable evidence at defiance ; against the attempt to set up a critical house of cards doomed to be prostrated by the first breath of the contempt which it has called forth.

WILLIAM KINGSFORD.

THE OLD FORTIFICATIONS ON POINTS FREDERICK AND HENRY, KINGSTON.

SOME time ago I had the honour of reading before the members of the Historical Society of Kingston a paper on the subject of Fort Frontenac and the old military defences in the vicinity of the city of Kingston, and I then promised that I would, on a future occasion, give the Society the benefit of some information in my possession respecting the old fortifications on Points Frederick and Henry. It would be impossible to prepare a connected or interesting paper on such a subject without including in it many facts which are probably matters of history and are to be found in more than one printed reference, and therefore I make no apology if some of the material which I present in this paper is not original. In connection with history the office of the compiler is as necessary and useful as that of the original recorder. I propose to weave together and present a fabric composed of recorded facts and such material collected by my father as is in my possession, including the recollections of Mr. Robert Sellars, a gentleman well known in Kingston, who was in early life connected with the Royal Engineers' Department, and who lived to the ripe age of 100, and died only a few years ago. His recollection of facts which occurred in the early part of this century was very remarkable; and the correctness of some of the information given by him has been frequently verified by reference to recorded papers. I have also had the benefit of personal interviews with old inhabitants of this city, particularly Sheriff Ferguson, who has an excellent memory, and gave me a good deal of interesting information respecting the building of the new fort on Point Henry, more indeed than I would venture to put into this paper.

The Government having, after the cession of Canada by France to England, resolved to continue Kingston as a military post, the attention of those entrusted with the conduct of the affairs of the country would naturally be directed to the best mode of providing for its defence and protecting the commerce of the lakes and river. There had been a naval station at Carle-

ton Island, which lies between Wolfe Island and the American shore, and fortifications had been built at that point which were occupied by a British garrison. In 1788, four years after the establishment of Kingston as a town, Lord Dorchester, then Governor of Canada, formerly Sir Guy Carleton, instructed John Collins to make a survey of the different forts and harbours from Carleton Island to Michilimackinac, and particularly to report upon the respective merits of Carleton Island and Kingston as a site for a naval station. Mr. Collins, in an elaborate report presented to his Excellency, expressed an opinion in favour of Carleton Island; but this opinion seems to have been disregarded by the Government, for in 1789, as nearly as I can ascertain, a Naval Yard and Station were established on the east side of Point Frederick and in Navy Bay. Considerable progress must have been made in the erection of buildings and fortifications between the time mentioned and 1815, when Col. Bouchette, in his work on Canada, thus refers to Kingston and its vicinity:—

“ For the last fifteen years the town has obtained considerable mercantile importance; wharves have been constructed and many spacious warehouses erected that are usually filled with merchandise; in fact, it has now become the main entrepôt between Montreal and all the settlements along the lakes to the westward. From the commencement of spring until the latter end of autumn, great activity prevails; vessels of from eighty to nearly two hundred tons, employed in navigating the lake, are continually receiving and discharging their cargoes, as well as the batteaux used in the river. The harbour is well sheltered and convenient, accessible to ships not requiring more than three fathoms of water, with good anchorage close to the north-eastern extremity of the town. Opposite to the town, and distant about half a mile, is a long, low peninsula, forming the west side of Navy Bay; the extremity of it is called Point Frederick: Point Henry is the extremity of another peninsula, but of higher and more commanding ground, that forms the eastern side of it. This is the principal depot of the royal navy on Lake Ontario, and where the ships are laid up during the winter; the anchorage is good, but somewhat exposed to the south and south-west winds. On the western side of Navy Bay are the dockyard, large storehouses, slips for building the men-of-war, naval barracks, wharves, and several dwelling houses for the master builder and other artificers, for whom, since their occupations have been so unremitting, it has been found necessary to erect habitations on the spot. In this yard the ships composing the present British Ontario armament were built and equipped: the construction of the ‘St. Lawrence,’ a first-rate, mounting one hundred and two guns, will sufficiently prove that the power of this fleet may hereafter be increased to a vast extent. As a

rival station to the American one of Sackett's Harbour, Navy Bay is entitled to every consideration, and as long as it becomes an object to maintain a naval superiority on the lake, the greatest attention must be paid to this establishment; particularly when we observe with what care our rivals complete such of their ships as were begun during the war, and also the measures they are adopting generally to be enabled to contend against us, at a future period, with numerical strength in their favour; and, in fact, the methods they pursue are well calculated to obtain the objects they steadily keep in view. The conduct of an enterprising enemy should always be narrowly observed, and a countervailing power be prepared commensurate to the means of aggression. The Americans build their ships much faster than we do on our side, and for this reason strength is the chief object with them, and if that be obtained, they care but little about beauty of model or elegance of finishing; in fact, they receive no other polish than what is given them by the axe and the adze. On the other hand, we employ as much time upon ours as we should in the European dockyards; they are undoubtedly as strong as the Americans', they are handsomer and much better finished, but they are far more expensive, and will not endure a longer period of service. When we reflect that ships built on this lake will not last more than five, or at most six years of actual service, it may be a subject not unworthy of consideration whether we cannot, with some advantage to ourselves, adopt the methods of our opponents; and if we have a fleet as strongly built, equal in number and size to theirs, and capable of keeping up the unrivalled splendour of our national banner, be satisfied with it, although it be not a rival in beauty and splendid decorations to that which has awed every enemy into submission."

Points Frederick and Henry and the bays to the east of each of them were, I am told, named after two of the governors of Canada, namely, Frederick Haldimand, 1777, and Henry Hamilton, 1785, the point nearest to the city being Point Frederick, the bay next to it Haldimand Cove (Navy Bay), the next point being Point Henry and the bay beyond it Hamilton Cove or Dead Man's Bay.

The town having been established, arrangements were made for the defence of the harbour. With this object in view a strong battery was erected on Mississauga Point, which lay at the foot of what are now Gore and Earl streets. This battery is referred to in the diary of the captain of voltigeurs lately introduced to us by Dr. Neilson as having been lined with heavy square timbers on the inside. Sheriff Ferguson remembers this battery, which, he says, was furnished with a furnace for the heating of shot, intended to give a warm reception to an enemy. All traces of the structure have now disappeared.

On the opposite shore of Point Frederick, at its southwest angle, was established another battery, intended to co-operate with that on Mississauga Point. This battery appears on the plan of Bouchette's survey of the harbour dated in 1796. From a memo. in my possession I find that it was composed of a breast-work of logs and earth with traversing platforms for guns. It was probably constructed about the same time as that on Mississauga Point. After the war of 1812-14 a blockhouse was constructed within the breast-work and remained standing until it was destroyed by fire in the year 1820. (See Canniff's *History*). The armament of the battery on Point Frederick, according to Mr. Sellars' recollection, consisted of about six or seven 24 pounders.

The two batteries, Mississauga and Point Frederick, completely commanded the entrance to the harbour so as to make it difficult, if not impossible, for a hostile vessel to effect a passage. The location of the batteries and the line of cross fire are shown on a plan in my possession prepared and issued by the Admiralty.

In or about the year 1789, as I have already stated, the naval depot was established at Point Frederick for the building and protection of ships and military stores. The works on Point Frederick no doubt formed part of the defences of the dock yard which was situated on the east side of the Point. The memo. from Bouchette, which I have already quoted, refers to the progress made in the erection of buildings in the dock yard. Some of the buildings have disappeared but others remain. The building, now used as a dormitory in connection with the Royal Military College, was originally intended as a naval storehouse. It was built between 1816-19 of stone which was quarried on Point Henry, near the site of the military hospital, and close to the water-side. The stone taken from this place is easily distinguishable by its rusty yellowish tint.

This stone storehouse was fitted up at a later period for the accommodation of the sailors of the lake fleet in the winter time. It was divided into decks and its whole interior made to resemble the interior of a frigate. The floors were called decks, each with its distinctive name, and the cartridge cases and other furniture were marked as they would be on a man-of-war. The

building thus received the name of "The Stone Frigate." I had the opportunity of seeing it in its frigate stage and remember that the captain's room was very beautifully finished in light wood. Further alterations have converted the building into what it now is, the dormitory in connection with the Royal Military College.

I find in a letter written by the late John Creighton, in the year 1882, some remarks about the stone frigate and the vessels moored in Navy Bay, which will, no doubt, be interesting to my readers: "The Canadian rebellion," he says, "commenced in the fall of 1837, and in the spring of 1838 Captain Sandom, R.N., and about two hundred sailors and marines, with their officers, were sent to Kingston from the ships of war at Quebec.

Previous to this the naval station at Kingston had been broken up by the British Government and Captain Sandom had no quarters afloat for his men; hence they were placed in some old buildings on shore, a portion of them in the large naval store building. This being the largest and most important building in the dock-yard was named Her Majesty's ship 'Niagara.' It was a stone frigate, it is true, but it answered the purpose of giving Capt. Sandom's crews a habitation and a name.

During the summer of 1838 a small steamer named the 'Experiment' was purchased for the naval station here and three small gun-boats were built. A steamer was also purchased for Lake Erie, and a detachment of Capt. Sandom's command was sent there to man the vessel.

The 'Experiment' did good service at Prescott in the fall of 1838 by driving the steamer 'United States' over to Ogdensburg and cutting off communication by water with the Yankee horde who had taken refuge in the Windmill and surrounding buildings.

When I came to Kingston in 1823 (then a boy 6 years old), the stone frigate referred to was filled with naval and military stores.

All the vessels used in the war of 1812 were lying roofed over in Navy Bay, otherwise Haldimand Cove, immediately in front of the 'stone store,' or frigate as it was afterwards called. These vessels were sold a few years afterwards by the British Government and broken up except the ship-of-war 'St. Lawrence,' capable of carrying 102 guns. A portion of the hull of this vessel floated when the upper part was taken off. It was towed over

and sunk again and forms part of the wharf in front of what is known as Morton's brewery and distillery."

Several vessels were built at the dockyard, including the "Speedy," the "Mohawk," the "Mississauga," the "Toronto," "Duke of Kent," (built in 1806), the "St. Lawrence," a large vessel carrying 102 guns, the "Prince Regent," the "Princess Charlotte," and the "Royal George." One vessel, the "Psyche," was framed in England and sent out, and the parts were with much labour and expense carried to Kingston, where they were put together in the dockyard in 1814. The British Government also sent out for each ship on Lake Ontario a full supply of water casks with an apparatus for distilling sea water. Some of these particulars, though they are recorded elsewhere, are contained in a memorandum prepared by Mr. Sellars and now in my possession.

When the war of 1812 broke out Sir James Yeo was sent out from England to take command of the naval station and the operations on the lakes were conducted under his supervision and direction.

Amongst the officers employed at the dockyard and in connection with naval operations were Commodore Barrie, from whom, I understand, Barriefield derives its name, and John Marks, whom I recollect very well, and who lived to a good old age, and, I am told, contributed liberally towards the erection of St. Mark's Church, Barriefield.

After the war of 1812 an arrangement was made between the British and American Governments to limit the number of armed vessels upon the lakes, and in pursuance of this arrangement, and on the 28th April, 1817, a proclamation was issued, which reads as follows :

"The Naval force to be maintained upon the American lakes by his Majesty and the Government of the United States shall henceforth be confined to the following vessels on each side, that is

On Lake Ontario to one vessel, not exceeding 100 tons burden, and armed with one 18 pound cannon.

On the Upper Lakes to two vessels, not exceeding like burden each, and armed with like force.

On the waters of Lake Champlain to one vessel, not exceeding like burden, and armed with like force.

All other armed vessels on these lakes shall be forthwith dismantled, and no other vessels of war shall be then built or armed."

It was further provided that the proclamation should continue in force till six months notice of abrogation should be given.

The martello tower and fort at present existing on Point Frederick were built in the year 1846, and formed part of a system of fortifications devised for the defence of the harbour.

The traveller in search of the picturesque and the beautiful in nature will go far before he will find a grander or more charming view than can be obtained from the heights of Point Henry on a bright summer day. A hundred feet below him, the point on which he stands is washed by the waters of Lake Ontario, clear as crystal and blue as the heavens. Towards the south-west the great lake stretches on and on until it is lost in the horizon. To the north of this expanse of water lie Amherst Island and the peninsula of Prince Edward. To the south Wolfe and Simcoe Islands. To the north across Navy Bay lies Point Frederick, and beyond it the city of Kingston. To the south sits Cedar Island like an emerald in blue setting; and in the distance, over and beyond Wolfe Island, can be dimly seen the northern shore of the State of New York. Eastward the noble St. Lawrence, issuing from the great lake, pursues its majestic course through islands and rapids, past hamlet and city, until it mingles its waters with the ocean.

In 1813 the features of this landscape must have been to a large extent similar to those of to-day, but the point itself must have presented an entirely different picture.

The captain of voltigeurs, to whom I have already referred, gives a humorous account in his diary of the condition of the Fort Hill in May, 1813, when he was sent over with a detachment to occupy Point Henry. He describes the ground as a wilderness of stumps, fallen trees, boulders and rocks of all sizes and shapes, infested with mosquitoes, gnats, sand flies and other abominations in the shape of loathsome reptiles.

The stumps and fallen trees, the mosquitoes, gnats, sand flies and other abominations have long since disappeared, but there remain scattered about in every direction boulders and pieces of limestone left by the quarrymen and stone-cutters who were engaged in the building of the fort.

There was evidently in 1812 no fort or permanent structure of any kind on the ground. Col. Bouchette, in his book, to

which I have already referred, states that the dockyard was defended by a strong fort on Point Henry. This fort, which was built of logs, and was surrounded by an embankment, was constructed in 1813. The war between the United States and Great Britain had probably demonstrated the necessity of erecting permanent fortifications on Point Henry. There were constructed in 1815-16 two towers each fifty feet square, with rounded corners, built of strong rubble work. These were surrounded by palisades, erected in the form of *chevaux de frise*. There was also a large building, 80 feet in length, put up and used as officers' quarters. It was built of cut stone on the site of the advanced battery, now upon the ground. This building, or rather the stone in it, was sold by auction about the year 1841, and the stone was brought over to the city where it was used in the building of a house on Barrack street and two others on Brock street.

Besides the officers' quarters, stone magazines, ordnance offices, and an armory were built outside the fort in 1813-1814. Stone barracks 230 feet long, roofed with tin, were in 1818-20 put up for the use of the men. Two other buildings, for the accommodation of the men, each 80 feet long, and with a cook house attached to each, were built near the entrance to the fort between the two towers.

The new fort, begun in 1832, was completed and occupied about 1836. It was at first intended to build it of granite, a quarry of which lies between the fort and Cartwright's point, but the stone was found so intractable that the idea was abandoned, and the fort was built of limestone quarried on both sides of the road leading from Kingston to Gananoque, the stone being of better quality there than elsewhere in the vicinity. The material required for mortar and cement was procured in every direction, as may be seen at the present day by examining the ground to the north of the fort. The stones used in building the fort were dressed where they were quarried, and Sheriff Ferguson conveyed them under contract to the fort. The advanced battery was constructed in the year 1842, and is said to have been a serious military blunder. I have in my possession a plan of the forts on Points Frederick and Henry shewing the details with great minuteness.

Cedar Island appears at a very early date to have been cleared of timber and used as a telegraph or signal station for military purposes. There was one station on Cedar Island, another lower down the river, and another on Snake Island. I do not of course use the word telegraph in the modern sense. The trees on the island were subsequently allowed to grow. In the year 1848 the Martello Tower on the island was built. It was intended to call it "Cathcart's Redoubt;" but this idea was abandoned, and it goes under the name of "Cedar Island Tower." It was built by the Hon. Alexander McKenzie in the days when he practised his trade as a stone mason.

RICHARD T. WALKEM.

SOME WORKINGMEN'S PROBLEMS.

ONE of the features of the later periods of the Victorian era has been the increasing attention paid to problems affecting the working classes. Their wages have improved, they are better clothed, and education is more general among them, but, in addition to these desirable conditions, there is a more sympathetic interest taken by other classes of society in whatever concerns their advancement. Sometimes there has been friction between employer and employee, but the public at large is now always ready to extend its sympathy to the working classes whenever they have just causes for complaint, and seek a remedy in a fair spirit and by constitutional methods. The knowledge of the probable course of public opinion has often a powerful effect in lessening this friction or preventing its occurrence altogether.

Whilst, however, the workingmen's unions have given large attention to problems affecting, among other matters, wages, hours of labour, mutual assistance, and local benefit funds, there are other economic problems of great importance which should have their careful consideration. To some of these I wish, in a very brief way, to draw attention, more especially to

The high rents frequently paid in the cities in proportion to the accommodation obtained.

Improvements in the character and locality of the dwellings.

Compensation for injuries.

Old age pensions and government annuities.

Greater facilities for education, especially in science as applied to manufacturing and construction.

These are all of them important questions, affecting either the health, the income, or the future prospects of workingmen and their families.

RENTS.

In the larger cities, and perhaps it may be found to be the case, more or less, in all cities, rents paid by workingmen are, generally—considering the character of the accommodation, and the locality and value of the dwellings—relatively higher than those paid by the middle and upper classes. The landlord of an average dwelling situated in the more desirable parts of the city expects to receive six to seven per cent. annual return on his investment, and out of this he has to provide necessary repairs. From dwellings suitable for workingmen, situated in other parts of the city, landlords expect to receive from ten to twelve per cent., and possibly even a higher return, and the dwellings will, in many instances, be found to be poorly constructed and insufficiently provided with sanitary arrangements. The reasons occasionally given by the landlords for this difference are that the working classes do not always take proper care of their houses, and that the rents are sometimes not paid, the consequence being that provision has to be made not only for extra wear and tear, but for losses in rent as well. These reasons have probably some force, and, so far as they have, the remedy is in the hands of the workingmen themselves; but, apart from that, the principle of charging relatively higher rents to the wage earner does not carry fairness with it. It is not because he is more able to pay. It may be said that the law of supply and demand will prevail, and that high rents will bring their own remedy by leading to the building of more houses. This is only in part a truth, as house structures, being of a permanent character, are built only after great deliberation, and are not like money or goods, which can

be transferred from point to point, wherever the most advantageous return can be obtained for them.

Can this matter be remedied? Can a fair rent payable by the tenant be reconciled with a fair return to the landlord on his investment? Opinion will probably differ as to what constitutes fairness, but with rates of interest on real estate investments so low as they have now reached, it will not be difficult to recognize an excessive rent. Seven to eight per cent. return on a well built house, after deducting taxes and allowing for repairs, should be considered more than ample when it is so difficult to find good general investments yielding over five per cent. Would it be wise to fix a maximum limit by legislation?

Municipal corporations, in collecting ordinary taxes, are virtually precluded by statute from exceeding a maximum rate on the assessed value of the property, and it is well worth considering whether, in a similar way, rents might not be also limited by statute to a maximum rate on this assessed value. Within that maximum figure the rent, or aggregate rents in the case of tenement houses, could rise and fall in accordance with the demand for houses, but the tenant would always know that there was a point higher than which the rent could not go. The assessed value in cities and towns is, generally speaking, a fair estimate, and opportunity is annually given to interested parties to contest its correctness. There would thus be a check on any possible attempt to attach a fictitious valuation to any property in order to increase the rent. The whole question is worthy of discussion by the workingmen. The amounts paid in rents and taxes form a very important part of their yearly income.

IMPROVEMENTS IN DWELLINGS.

Notwithstanding all that has been urged during recent years on this subject, much requires yet to be done in securing dwellings of a better class, with proper ventilation and sanitary arrangements. As a rule, workingmen's dwellings are not built under the supervision of an architect, and the building inspector's duty, where such official exists, seems too often limited to a superficial examination into the safety of the structure. Health is, if anything, more important to the workingman than to the man of leisure or means, as he cannot afford the time to be ill, and he has not the personal resources to fall back on in case his

health does give way. In the matter of dwellings, the health inspector's duties should commence at the same time as those of the building inspector, and he should see that the ventilation is ample, and that the sanitary arrangements and conveniences are of the most modern type and of good workmanship. There should not be complaints of damp cellars, uncemented or broken drain pipes, antiquated closets, or unventilated rooms, if, during construction, every dwelling was carefully examined under the supervision of a proper health inspector or sanitary engineer.

Our long and severe Canadian winters lead to more time being spent indoors, and less inclination, as well as opportunity, to ventilate the houses in the usual way through the doors and windows. Hence the greater need during that period for ventilation by special means, and the absolute necessity for perfect sanitary arrangements. Landlords, perhaps, do not generally know that if disease breaks out they are responsible in damages for neglect to have proper precautions to prevent its development. No city or town, however small, should in fact be without a sanitary engineer or properly qualified sanitary inspector. No landlord should be satisfied without at least one careful inspection each year by this official, and this inspection should include thorough tests by the most modern methods of the condition of the drains; and no tenant should take the lease of a house without insisting on the production of a certificate of a recent inspection and test.

Other subjects which might well be considered in this connection are the prevention of over-crowding in the larger cities; the planting of trees by municipal corporations on streets occupied by the workingmen, and the taking by the workingmen of an interest in their preservation; and the co-operation of the tenant with the landlord in keeping the dwelling and its surroundings in good order, thereby affording the landlords an inducement to make their houses more attractive.

COMPENSATION FOR INJURIES.

The introduction into the imperial parliament of a government measure providing for compensation for injuries has opened a wide field for discussion of an important subject. The position assumed by the Government is that in many important trades accidents to workmen must be regarded as incidents of the busi-

ness, and that compensation for injuries should thus be a charge on the cost of conducting that business. This position has, as would be expected, been assailed by many employers, especially by the colliery owners, who know the difficulty of obtaining insurance against accidents in coal mines, and whose experience shows that colliery accidents frequently arise from the carelessness of one individual, and too often lead to very large loss of life. The principle of the bill has, however, been on the whole favourably received in the imperial parliament, and will probably become law in August next. It is not intended to apply to sailors, agricultural labourers, tramway employees, excavators, or men in the building trades where machinery is not used, and the limit of compensation is half wages, but not to exceed \$5 per week during temporary disablement, and three year's wages, or \$750, whichever is greater—but not to exceed \$1,500—in case of total disablement or death, provided, in the latter case, the workingman has left dependents behind him.

How far would it be wise to enact in Canada legislation similar to the proposed British Act? The subject is one in which the general public is directly interested, as, in the case of manufacturers, any compensation paid will, undoubtedly, be provided for in the price of the products manufactured. The consumer, and not the employer, will thus furnish the funds. Which of the three interests concerned can the most easily bear the burden? It would seem as if on the consumer, as representing the public, it would fall most lightly, as the addition to the cost would as a rule be barely noticed. Even now in all cases where negligence or defects result in the employer having to pay compensation, this compensation makes itself felt in the price of the goods produced.

Other questions, however, suggest themselves. Will the adoption of the principle of compensation in all cases of injuries lead to less promptness on the part of employees in detecting and remedying, or pointing out, defects, and less care in avoiding accidents? Is it altogether wise, on principle, to compensate men for suffering or loss in cases where their own negligence has led to this suffering or loss? Will not a result of this compensation be that many working men will drop their provident and benefit societies, and that the younger men will not join

these societies at all? These are questions requiring careful thought. The principle of providing for the future by annually setting aside a fixed sum, whether it is paid to a benefit society or life insurance company, or is deposited at interest in a savings bank, is recognized by experience as so excellent that nothing should be done to discourage it. With regard to negligence, the British Government has agreed to an amendment to the bill, under which a breach of a statutory rule, drunkenness or other grave misconduct will preclude compensation; whilst, as to the remaining question, there need be no apprehension that the employees will observe less care. Common sense will prevail. The British Act, besides, provides that the workman's injury must not be trivial, and that he must be laid off from work for a given number of days.

On the whole, until more experience is gained, it would be better to take a medium course which, admitting the principle of compensation, would at the same time encourage the habit of saving among working men. Whilst some moderate amount would be given in every case of injury without misconduct, this amount might be somewhat increased wherever the injured man was found to be a member of a friendly or benefit society, or insured in a life insurance company, or had a given minimum sum at interest in some bank. This would keep up the connection of the men with such societies and companies.

The Act should, at the same time, make provision for the investment of the sum allowed in an annuity for the benefit of the widow and children. For the whole principal sum to be frittered away in present enjoyment or to be imperilled by investments made on the advice of inexperienced friends, would seem very unwise.

OLD AGE PENSIONS.

The present Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. Chamberlain, has made the suggestion of old age pensions for working men, which the government might supplement. The idea has not as yet taken any practical shape, but may be described as endowment insurance, to which both the workman and the Government will contribute, the former paying given annual premiums up to a fixed age, which it has been proposed should be 60, from which time onward until death he would receive a pen-

sion representing these premiums and interest, and such further sum as the Government decided to add. No one will question the importance of the proposal: the real points on which there will be any division of opinion are the methods of carrying it out, and the advisability of the Government committing itself to an annual permanent expenditure, which would be very large, and having to be met with promptitude, might, in some years, prove a great millstone on the neck of the nation.

In Canada there were at the time of the last census 177,261 males of the age of sixty years and upwards. These, of course, would only gradually come upon any old age pension fund. If, however, this fund had been in existence sufficiently long to make it possible to include them all, and only one half of them actually became by right participants in it, the Government, if its responsibility went as far as one dollar per week to each pensioner, would have had in 1891 an annual charge for pensions of \$4,608,552. As population increased this annual sum would also increase. What would be the yearly charge in Great Britain with the population exceeding forty millions!

Whilst a direct Government addition of any importance annually to each pension would, on account of the magnitude of the aggregate sum be out of the question, the general principle of old age pensions is good, and the habit of saving for the future should be encouraged among the working classes. Perhaps few among them realize the large aggregates to which small amounts, annually paid and left to accumulate at interest, increase in the course of years. A sum of \$33.58, paid in annually for twenty years, or of \$17.83 for thirty years, to a bank or trust company which will allow four per cent. interest, will, each at the end of their respective periods amount to \$1,000, and this \$1,000 will then afford a pension of \$89 yearly for fifteen years. In other words, a workman who at the age of thirty commenced to lay aside thirty-five cents each week, will find himself at the age of sixty with a pension of nearly ninety dollars for the subsequent fifteen years, and this period is "the expectation of life," which a man who reaches sixty has before him.

What could be done by the Government would be to establish an old age pension department in connection with the post office savings banks. A special rate of interest, exceeding that on or-

dinary deposits, could be allowed on the pension deposits, and the interest made part of the principal at the close of each year. On the period arriving when the pension would become payable, the aggregate deposits and interest would be transferred to an annuity account, the Government continuing to allow the special rate of interest and capitalizing the balance of principal and interest each year until the termination of the pension by death. The contribution of the Government to the scheme would thus be the special amount of interest which it allowed on the pension premium for a long, fixed period, and the freedom of the scheme from the very heavy annual expenses of the life insurance companies by the Government working the scheme in connection with the post office.

That the Government should institute in Canada a system of annuities payable by it forms part of this proposal. Hitherto it does not appear to have considered the subject, but the prospect of a very large business arising from the institution of old age pensions and compulsory compensation for injuries might form a great inducement.

If the workingman died or became permanently incapacitated for work before the time when the pension became payable, he, or, in case of death, his representatives, should be allowed to withdraw the accumulated premiums and interest at some fixed rate, and have them at once turned into an annuity so far as they would go.

The benefit of compensation for injuries and of old age pensions should be open to women workers as well as to men, and the pension should, in the case of a married man, take the form of a joint annuity payable to the widow if she survives him.

TECHNICAL EDUCATION.

That there has been a widespread increase of education among the working classes of this country during the last two or three decades is a necessary outcome of the improved school systems prevailing, especially in the English-speaking provinces. Has, however, the character of the education given been in every respect the best adapted to the special needs of the working classes? To be able to read and write brings the daily newspaper to the workingmen's doors and enables them to utilize the post office, but have they fully recognized its far greater import-

ance in opening up a vast field of future possibilities in special work if the opportunity of further improvement is afforded? Public libraries have been established in some cities. Have they always profited by the wealth of special literature brought thus within their grasp? On the other hand, how far have opportunities of technical education been afforded them, and where technical schools have been instituted, have these schools in the fees charged been within the reach of the great army of young men of slender means?

Such questions are especially suggestive at the present time. These are days of intense competition, and the manufacturer who can produce the best finished and the most serviceable article at the lowest price will control the trade in that particular article. Hence each manufacturer requires the best knowledge and the most intelligent thought of every workman in his employ to be at his disposal in the production of the special goods he manufactures, and those workmen rise most rapidly whose general as well as special knowledge, wide experience, inventive faculty, or genius for discovery, aid most in suggesting or creating improvements which are helpful in this competition.

Turning to our own country, there is no reason why Canada should not only retain control of its own markets against competition from the United States, but should also compete with that country in many lines in foreign fields. This is, however, only to be done by employers being alive to the importance of having only the newest processes and the best workmen in the effort to improve quality and cheapen cost, and probably also by confining themselves more to special lines in which they can acquire a name and by which they can produce goods in larger quantity, and therefore more cheaply. Hence we need in Canada more technical education, which in its cost will be within the reach of the masses. Every young workman, ambitious of doing well, should have an opportunity, at the manufacturing centres, of obtaining not only a good general education, but that preliminary technical instruction which will be so helpful to him afterwards in suggestions. During the course of active employment, he will be frequently brought face to face with problems embracing improvements in constructive or manufacturing processes. Some one must solve these problems if the maximum of success in the business is to be obtained, and why should not he?

A. T. DRUMMOND.

THE COLLEGE.

REPORT OF THE PRINCIPAL TO THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES FOR YEAR ENDING APRIL 28, 1897.

NUMBER OF STUDENTS.

No. of Undergraduates in Arts (attending)	280
" " " (Extra-mural	90
" General or Unmatriculated Students in Arts	24
" Post Graduates in Arts	16
" Undergraduates in Theology	52
" " Practical Science	15
" " Medicine	113

Total

Or, allowing for double registration.....

This marks an increase over last year of 20 in Arts, and a decrease of 19 in Medicine; an increase of 12 in Theology, 9 in Practical Science, and 2 in Post Graduate study, and a decrease of 22 in unmatriculated students. Instead of increasing the fee for all extra-mural students, as was suggested in last year's report, tutors have been appointed in many classes to examine, correct and return prescribed essays and exercises, and for this assistance special fees are charged. The Calendar shows in which classes this tutorial system is compulsory, and in which it is optional. The tendency is to make it compulsory in all classes.

DEGREES CONFERRED.

In Medicine, M.D., C.M.....	30
In Theology (10 Testamurs and 2 B.D.s).....	12
In Practical Science (1 D.Sc. and 2 B.Sc.)	3
In Arts (48 B.A.; 13 M.A.).....	61

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In addition, three honorary degrees were conferred: In Divinity, on Rev. James Fraser Campbell, Rutlam, Central India, and on Rev. Robert Chambers, B.A., Bardezag, Turkey in Asia; in Laws, on Her Excellency, Ishbel Gordon, the Countess of Aberdeen.

The Senate also decided to offer the Degree of LL.D. to the Honourable Wilfrid Laurier, Premier of Canada; and on learning from him, last March, that autumn would be the most suitable time for him to attend a Convocation, agreed to confer the Degree on next University Day, (Oct. 16).

UNIVERSITY EXTENSION.

In giving the number of our students, we do not include those in the affiliated "School of Mining and Agriculture," or in Veterinary, or in the Dairy School now controlled by the Provincial Government, nor do we include those in classes connected with the various forms of University Extension. I submit three reports, showing the work

done along this line in summer and winter during the past year. All show clearly that what is aimed at is not popular lecturing by professors, but the extension of university work to persons unable to attend the regular classes. The School of Mining does valuable work of the same kind in mining centres under the guidance of Mr. Hamilton Merritt and Mr. Willet Miller, and also by geological excursions to points in the neighbourhood of Kingston during the autumn months.

REPORT ON SUMMER SESSION BY PROFESSOR KNIGHT.

The prospectus promised two courses of instruction in each branch of Biology, "an elementary one for beginners in Botany and Zoology, and a more advanced one for students who already possessed some knowledge of these sciences."

I had seen two kinds of summer school, one at Woodshole, and the other at Edinburgh University. At the former, the aim was to do a limited amount of work thoroughly. At Edinburgh the plan was to give students the outlines of a number of subjects. Both plans have advantages, and both have drawbacks. The one may end in veneer like that of a Chautauqua reading club, the other may end in discouragement at the endless array of details which must be mastered. I preferred to take the latter risk.

The elementary course was nearly equivalent to the junior in winter, and to the requirements for the senior leaving examination of the High Schools. The advanced course was just a section of the honour work of one winter session, viz., the *Histology of Vertebrates* worked over as thoroughly as in winter. I promised 50 microscope preparations and gave about 70.

The total attendance numbered 21, of whom 8 took the elementary, and 13 the advanced class. Nearly three-fourths were teachers, who came for guidance in the prosecution of studies which they pursue at home. The rest were undergraduates in Arts or Medicine, who wished to utilize a portion of their long vacation.

While all worked diligently, I must mention the enthusiastic manner in which the teachers pursued their studies. It was often six o'clock before they left the Laboratory, and all were in attendance at 9 a.m.

This being the third summer session, it may be useful to review our work thus far:

Session of	Attendance.	Fees.	SUBJECTS OFFERED.		Subjects seriously studied.
			Major.	Minor.	
1894	21	\$ 90 00	Chem. & Miner'y	Bot., Zool., Phys.	Chem. & Mineral'y.
1895	17	109 00	do	do.	do. do.
1896	22	180 00	Bot. & An'l Biol.	None.	Bot. & An'l Biol'y.

At the suggestion of the Hon. Mr. Dryden very elementary courses were offered during the first two years in Chemistry and Physics, Geology and Mineralogy, and Botany and Zoology, but no one attended them. The Public School teachers who did attend in 1894 and '95, wanted work that would count in obtaining a University degree, and consequently took the advanced work in Chemistry and Mineralogy. They wanted Botany and Zoology also, but not the A B C of these subjects. When advanced instruction was offered them this year in these subjects, they attended the classes and paid twice the sum in fees paid in 1894. Only \$58 were collected in fees for Botany this summer, but if Professor Fowler had been here the fees would have been almost doubled.

To Mr. B. W. Folger, jr., the class was indebted for a free pass to Wolfe Island. The class combined the pleasure of an outing with the benefit of some field

work in Zoology, besides learning methods of collecting material. To Dr. Clarke, of Rockwood Hospital, the class is indebted for a very instructive lecture on *Heredity, Crime and Insanity* in the John Carruthers Science Hall.

To Mr. Archibald Williamson, M.A., I am greatly indebted for unremitting assistance in preparing my daily demonstrations for both classes—a labour much greater in summer than in winter.

If the summer session is to be made permanent, I would suggest the publication, early in the winter session, of a full syllabus of the work proposed to be done in 1897. Tutors may assist in the work, but it is essential that the Professors should take the principal part in the work of instruction.

REPORT ON UNIVERSITY EXTENSION CLASS IN ENGLISH (HELD LAST WINTER),
BY PROFESSOR CAPPON.

This class was intended primarily for teachers and those who were willing to pursue a systematic course of study in literature. A merely popular audience was not invited. The course consisted of eighteen lectures, delivered once a week, on Wednesday evening, from 7.30 to 9 o'clock. The number of students enrolled was 52, and the attendance was very regular throughout. Essays were prescribed three times and written by fourteen students. Oral examination was also freely used during the course, and showed that the class as a whole was diligent and took a good hold of the work. After considerable experience of Extension lecturing, both here and in the old country, I think that this type of class, with its professional preparation and habits of study, and with its strong practical interest in the subject, makes the most solid basis for the work of the Extension lecturer.

REPORT ON UNIVERSITY EXTENSION CLASS IN JUNIOR PHILOSOPHY BY PROFESSOR
DYDE.

Seventeen persons, all but two of whom were public school teachers, formed themselves last winter into a class, and asked to be given a course of eighteen lectures, covering, as far as possible, the work of Junior Philosophy. One lecture was given each week, and was to have lasted one hour. In point of fact the lecture, including the time given to questions and to the discussion of points raised by essays, lasted from 7.30 to 9.30, and sometimes even to 10 p.m. The effort on the part of students and professor was considerable, but it was felt that satisfactory results in such a subject as philosophy could not otherwise be secured.

The interest evinced by the class can be judged by the fact that its members were willing to pay \$5.00 each for the course, to purchase the necessary textbooks, and in some cases to write essays. As nearly all of them had to teach in the public schools, the preparation for the class, involving a study of the text, must have consumed much of their spare time during the week. Their desire to obtain as far as possible the benefit of a college training is highly laudable. Other subjects might be taken up next winter. The University would thus be brought into closer relation with the city, and the needs of persons, employed in various ways throughout the day, and unable, therefore, to attend the regular college classes, would be at least partially met.

SCHOLARSHIPS.

In last Report it was stated that a committee had decided to appeal for \$5,000, to endow scholarships in memory of the late beloved Dr. Williamson. The response has as yet not been what was expected. The following subscriptions have been received, but these, even along with his "estate," which he left to the University, and which amounts to less than \$800, would not warrant the establishing of more than one good scholarship. We need four or five of these Williamson memorials:

SUBSCRIPTIONS RECEIVED BY THE TREASURER, J. B. MACIVER, TO WIL-
LIAMSON MEMORIAL SCHOLARSHIP FUND.

Principal Grant, Kingston, \$100, interest paid	\$ 6 00
J. M. Farrell, B.A., Kingston, \$100, interest paid.....	6 00
R. S. O'Loughlin, New York.....	100 00
A. E. Malloch, B.A., M.D., Hamilton.....	50 00
Rev. Alfred Gandier, M.A., Halifax	25 00
Charles Macdonald, LL.D., New York	25 00
W. A. Logie, B.A., Hamilton.....	25 00
Mrs. Keith, Halifax.....	20 00
E. R. Peacock, M.A., Upper Canada College	20 00
Rev. James Cumberland, Stella.....	15 00
Mrs. Cumberland, Stella	5 00
Rev. Robert Campbell, D.D., Montreal, \$50, first in- stalment paid	10 00
Rev. Dr. Snodgrass, Scotland	10 00
P. C. McGregor, M.A., Almonte	10 00
John Mudie, B.A., Kingston.....	10 00
Judge Cumberland, B.A., Brandon, Man....	10 00
J. B. McLaren, M.A., Morden, Man.....	10 00
Alexander McLeod, B.A., Winnipeg, Man.....	10 00
Dr. J. T. D. Mackenzie, Kingston	10 00
Sir H. G. Joly de Lotbiniere, LL.D., Quebec	10 00
James Armour, B.A., Perth	10 00
Hon. G. A. Kirkpatrick, Toronto.....	10 00
A. H. Ireland, Toronto	10 00
Rev. Robert C. H. Sinclair, B.A., Oliver's Ferry.....	9 00
Rev. J. A. Leitch, B.A., Watson's Corners	7 00
Rev. J. C. Smith, B.D., Guelph	5 00
Rev. Archibald Currie, M.A., Sonya	5 00
Rev. R. Chambers, D.D., Bardezag, Turkey in Asia.	5 00
Prof. A. P. Knight, M.D., Kingston	5 00
G. L. B. Fraser, B.A., Ottawa.....	5 00
M. Flanagan, Kingston	5 00
Richard J. Clark, M.A., Victoria, B.C.....	5 00
S. D. Pope, B.A., LL.D., Victoria, B.C.....	5 00
W. T. McClement, M.A., Chicago, Ill.....	5 00
Rev. J. E. Duclos, B.A., Valleyfield, P.Q.....	5 00
Rev. H. E. Horsey, M.A., Abbotsford, P.Q.....	5 00
A. F. Riddell, Montreal.....	5 00
Miss M. J. Thompson, B.A., Almonte	5 00
Rev. John Hay, B.D., Cobourg	5 00
Rev. Alex. Campbell, B.A., Broadview, N.W.T.....	5 00
Rev. Dr. Wardrope, Guelph.....	5 00
A. W. Playfair, M.A., Upper Canada College	5 00
Rev. D. R. Drummond, M.A., St. Thomas	5 00
Andrew Bell, C.E., Almonte.....	5 00
A. N. Young, Almonte	5 00
R. McPherson, Kingston.....	5 00
J. Gillies, Braeside.....	5 00

Mrs. John Macpherson, Kingston.....	\$5 00
"A Friend," Kingston.....	5 00
Rev. Alfred Fitzpatrick, B.A., Cape Vincent.....	4 00
Rev. E. D. McLaren, B.D., Victoria, B. C.....	3 00
P. A. Macdonald, B.A., Winnipeg, Man.....	5 00
W. J. Patterson, M.A., Carleton Place.....	5 00
Rev. D. Strachan, Rockwood.....	2 00
Rev. J. W. Muirhead, B.A. Whitewood, N. W. T... ..	2 00
A "Friend," Kingston.....	2 00
J. M. Strange, Kingston.....	2 00
Dr. Gibson, Belleville.....	2 00
Mrs. Drummond, Kingston.....	1 00
F. Welch, Kingston.....	1 00
Reginald Instant, Emerald.....	1 00

The Principal or the Treasurer, or Rev. J. Cumberland, M.A., Stella, Convener of the Committee, will be glad to receive subscriptions or suggestions regarding the fund.

RETIREMENT OF THE REGISTRAR.

The Rev. George Bell, LL.D., who for some years discharged the duties of Librarian and Registrar, and, since the appointment of Professor Shortt as Librarian, the greatly increased work of the Registrarship, resigned his position last autumn, the resignation to take effect to-day. The estimation in which he was held by the staff and the students was shown in Convocation Hall yesterday, when Professor Marshall in their name presented to him his portrait to be a memorial to successive generations of the first student of Queen's, and one who has always been worthy of the "grand old name of gentleman," and when at the same time the Alma Mater Society presented him with an address which fitly expressed the sentiments of every member of the University. In all his years of office Dr. Bell never failed to do his duty or to preserve a winning dignity and a courtesy, patience and readiness to oblige which made the student on his arrival at Queen's feel that he was dealing not with an official, but with a friend. Although unwilling, because of advancing years, to continue his arduous labours, his connection with Queen's should not be entirely broken, and I would take the liberty of suggesting that, at the first opportunity that presents itself, he might well be elected to the University Council, or to the Board of Trustees of which he was a valued member before his appointment to office.

THE FACULTY OF PRACTICAL SCIENCE.

Extracts from the Dean's report to the University Council are appended, and these give details of the work done during the year, of the special needs of the new Faculty, and of the erection last summer of workshops, on the basis authorized by the Board at its annual meeting. It is impossible to exaggerate the debt that the University owes to Professor Dupuis for his untiring labours to make the new Faculty a success. He has been ably seconded by Professor R. Carr-Harris, C.E., who continues to lecture without salary, and by

Mr. Norman R. Carmichael, M.A., who has taken charge of the classes on Electrical Engineering and the thermodynamics of the steam engine. Students of Mining Engineering register and take their course in the School of Mining, the buildings of which are contiguous to the workshops in Practical Science. The erection and equipment of these shops, combined with a gymnasium, cost over \$3,500. Towards this amount the following subscriptions, amounting to \$500, have been received :

Principal Grant, Kingston	\$100 00
W. F. Nickle, B.A., "	100 00
John Manuel, Ottawa.....	100 00
T. Ahearn "	100 00
Warren Y. Soper "	50 00
Alexander Fraser "	50 00

The ladies of Kingston have resolved to raise the remaining \$3,000, and they expect to have half the amount in hand before the end of the month. They deserve assistance from every one interested either in the new Faculty or in the physical well-being of the students.

It is with a sentiment of something like wonder that I chronicle the erection of this building, which serves in a modest way twin needs of so much importance. It seems to have sprung into existence without effort, and to have been maintained without expense ; but every one understands that there must have been effort, and that annual expenditure is required. That the ladies will succeed in their undertaking I have little or no doubt. In the meanwhile, the interest is paid by the students generally, and the fees in Practical Science meet the annual charges.

THE FACULTY OF MEDICINE.

The departments of Physiology and Bacteriology, to which Professors Knight and W. T. Connell give their whole time, have become so important that more room is required by the Professors, especially for experimentation and research. The Faculty is also convinced that a great step in advance would be made if a separate building were erected for dissecting purposes and the teaching of Anatomy, and it is considering how to do this, and thus at the same time provide additional room for the other subjects. The spirit of the Faculty is highly to be commended. Against heavy odds they have built up an excellent school of medicine, and they are determined to do all in their power to make further improvements, and, indeed, to let no year pass without a forward movement. The Fenwick operating theatre is perfect of its kind, and the Doran building for gynæcology is proving, under Dr. Garrett's management, a great blessing to women. The advantages of having a specialist in Pathology and Bacteriology, like Dr. Connell, are shared by the whole medical profession in the city and neighbourhood, as well as by the college, and also by the Dairy School and the Experimental Farm. I, therefore, cordially commend to the friends of the University the suggestion of providing an additional building, with the objects out-

lined above. The medical graduates, in particular, are respectfully invited to be up and doing.

THE FACULTY OF THEOLOGY.

Professor Macnaughton's lectures on Early Church History were much appreciated. So was Rev. Dr. Thompson's short course on Pastoral Theology, and Rev. Mr. Connery's on Elocution, both given freely, out of a spirit of generosity and of love for Queen's, for which we are most grateful. Pending the appointment of a much needed additional Professor, I would recommend that Professor Macnaughton and Professor Glover be "Hugh Waddell Lecturers on Church History" during the ensuing session, the first to deal specially with the influence of Alexandria on the Early Church, and the latter with the Early Apologists.

The Conference of the Theological Alumni last February was the most successful yet held. Dr. Watson has been re-appointed to the Chancellor's lectureship, and his course is the backbone of the Conference. His subject next year is "Christianity in relation to Modern Thought," and the text-book recommended to the Alumni is the second edition of *Christianity and Idealism*, to be issued by the Macmillan Company in September. The programme for next February has been printed in the QUEEN'S QUARTERLY of April last, to give time to all who intend to be present to prepare themselves on at least one of the topics set down for discussion.

The attendance in this Faculty was greater last session than in any previous session of the University's life. Rev. Dr. Smith, the General Secretary, is now giving his whole time to raising the endowment needed for an additional chair. It ought to be possible to take action, at the latest, in a year from this time. Such an addition to a Faculty which is recognized by all its friends as the crown of the University is indispensable. Nothing but hard necessity has caused it to be so long delayed.

FINANCE.

The Board last year made several economies to prevent expenditure exceeding revenue; and, as there was still the prospect of a deficit, I undertook to see that it was met. An appeal to a number of our friends resulted in an increased contribution to the General Assembly's College Fund, and in the following list of subscriptions, the donors of which have allowed their gifts to be converted into a nucleus to provide against deficit in the immediate future,—as the accounts for the year ending April 2nd, 1897, showed a small surplus instead of a shortage:

Mrs. Field, Winnipeg.....	\$25 00
Rev. James Rollins, B.A., Elmvale.....	10 00
Rev. R. C. H. Sinclair, B.A., Oliver's Ferry.....	5 00
Rev. Rod'k. McKay, Hemmingford, Que.....	3 00
Rev. John Fraser, B.A., English River, C. B.....	5 00
W. Clyde, B.A., Petrolia.....	5 00
Rev. Orr Bennett, B.A., Hawkesbury.....	5 00
Rev. E. J. Rattee, Noel, N. S.....	10 00

Rev. Alfred Fitzpatrick, Cape Vincent.....	\$20 00
T. A. Brough, B.A., Owen Sound.....	10 00
Miss Maggie D. Allen, B.A., Halifax, N. S.....	4 00
Rev. James Wilson, Perth.....	10 00
G. L. B. Fraser, B.A., Ottawa.....	5 00
Rev. Hugh R. Grant, Trenton, N. S.....	10 00
Rev. Neil McPherson, B.D., Hamilton.....	5 00
Rev. A. McColl, D.D., Chatham.....	20 00
Rev. R. J. Hutcheon, Almonte.....	5 00
P. C. McGregor, Almonte.....	5 00
Rev. Robert Campbell, D.D., Montreal.....	5 00
Rev. Dr. Watson, Beaverton.....	50 00
English River, C. B., Congregation.....	5 00
Rev. John McNeil, Cowall.....	7 00
Rev. Dr. Gray, Orillia	2 00
Cobourg Bible Class	10 00
Rev. John Hay, B.D., Cobourg	2 50
George Mitchell, B.A., Cobourg.....	2 50
Rev. D. O. McArthur, Melrose.....	10 00
Dr. H. W. Day, Belleville.....	25 00
Rev. John McMillan, B.D., Halifax.....	10 00
Richard Lees, M.A., St. Thomas.....	5 00
Rev. Dr. A. A. McKenzie, St. Stephen, N. B.....	20 00
D. V. Sinclair, Belleville.....	25 00
Principal Grant.....	50 00
Rev. J. M. Kellock, M.A., Morewood	10 00

The fact that there was no deficit this year is satisfactory, and the main reason for the fact, *viz.*, an increase in the amount received from fees, is even more satisfactory. I anticipate a steady increase of revenue from this source, which may balance the loss accruing from the lower rates of interest which our investments bring, and the steadily lowering rates which we must expect in the future.

The Treasurer has handed me the following statement of special subscriptions or amounts received by him during the past year:—

Hugh Waddell, Peterborough, for <i>interim</i> lecture-ships on Church History	\$ 250 00
Hon. Senator Gowan, LL.D. (additional)	400 00
(The fund for endowing the Sir John A. Macdonald Chair in Political Science, to which Senator Gowan has repeatedly contributed, now amounts to \$3,026.80).	
Doran Bequest (now \$16,500)	2,500 00
Various Subscribers in Ottawa towards Endowment Music Scholarship	475 00

CONCLUSION.

I submit herewith extracts from the Reports of the Treasurer, the Dean of the Faculty of Practical Science, the Librarian, the Curator of the Museum, and the Professors of Botany, Physics and Animal Biology.

G. M. GRANT, *Principal*.

Statement of Revenue and Expenditure for year ending April 2nd, 1897.

REVENUE.

Temporalities Board	\$ 2,000 00
The Professors, Beneficiaries of Temporalities Board	1,050 00
Kingston Observatory, grant from Government	500 00
Rent of Carruthers' Hall	1,250 00
Rent of Grounds	110 00
School of Mining, &c., for Lecturer on Mechanism	500 00
Chancellor's Lectureship	250 00
Hugh Waddell Lectureship on Church History	250 00
Robert Waddell Tutorship in Physics	150 00
John Roberts Allan Chair of Botany	150 00
Fees	9,410 93
Interest on Mortgages and other Securities	18,319 30
General Assembly's College Fund—	
Church Agent's Balance, 1895-96	\$ 210 00
" " on account of 1896-97	1,794 67
Congregations contributing directly	1,103 20
	<hr/> 3,107 87
Receipts for Scholarships	2,077 04
Interest on Jubilee Fund subscriptions	4,382 29
Balance Deficiency	8,955 17
	<hr/> <hr/> \$52,462 60

EXPENDITURE.

Deficiency 1895-6	\$9,015 14
Salaries—Professors and Lecturers in Theology	7,636 00
" Professors and Tutors in Arts	24,486 50
" Other Officers	2,309 25
Chancellor's Lectureship	250 00
Insurance	90 00
Library, Laboratories, Museum, &c.	2,683 12
Practical Science Department	448 56
Taxes, Repairs and Grounds	381 14
Scholarship Account	2,077 04
Travelling Expenses	169 35
Advertising, Printing and Stationery	1,807 62
Fuel, Water, Gas and Electricity	501 09
Contingencies	167 79
Contingent Account	500 00
	<hr/> <hr/> \$52,462 60

QUEEN'S COLLEGE, KINGSTON, 24th April, 1897.

J. B. McIVER,
Treasurer.

Examined and found correct.

J. E. CLARK,	} <i>Auditors.</i>
D. CALLAGHAN,	

REPORT ON FACULTY OF PRACTICAL SCIENCE.

Since my last report I have had a very busy year. The Board decided to erect a building which would serve the double purpose of providing for a gymnasium and a mechanical laboratory.

During the whole of the summer my time was taken up in superintending the new building, for as we resolved, in order to save money, to dispense with architects and contracts, I had to act as architect and contractor.

As a result of the limited means at our disposal, the building is very plain. But it has a good stone foundation, and is arranged for being veneered with brick.

In my own opinion, a good wooden building, on account of its elasticity, forms the best of workshops.

The building is 76 feet by 32, and is lined throughout with Rathbun terra-cotta studding blocks, and plastered in a single coat of sand finish; and to show the effectiveness of this arrangement, I may state that to keep this whole building, gymnasium included, and containing about 90,000 cubic feet of air space, comfortably heated during the whole of the past winter, has required only seven tons of coal and a cord of soft wood.

The building consists of three stories. The basement is $8\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, and is concreted throughout. A partition separates it into two parts. The smaller part contains the furnace and fuel room, and some mechanical arrangements, and it belongs to the mechanical laboratories. The larger part is in connection with the gymnasium, and contains students' lockers, a water heater, two shower baths and a closet, and ample space is available for a bowling alley.

The ground story of the building is wholly given up to the proper work of the Mechanical department. This flat contains four large rooms and a small storeroom. Of these rooms one is a carpenter's shop, and is furnished with three workbenches, and necessary tools for doing general work in carpentry.

Another room is set apart for wood-turning and finer kinds of wood-working. This contains two wood lathes and a small gear cutting machine for cutting wood and brass gear-wheels. And it is proposed to add to these a wood-carving table and a fret-work machine.

A third room is given to metal working. This room contains, besides work benches and numerous small tools, a lathe by Muir, of Manchester, a $4\frac{1}{2}$ screw-cutting Barnes lathe; a $\frac{1}{2}$ h. p. motor; a gear-cutter for iron wheels; a 20-inch drilling machine, and several smaller machines. Pieces of machinery made in the shops are added to this department, from time to time, but a shaping machine is sorely needed.

The fourth and last room is intended as a museum and model room, as well as a drawing room and a library. This room contains some beautiful models of mechanical motions, the work of Mr. McLennan, of Lindsay.

The upper story is wholly given to gymnasium purposes.

The blacksmith shop stands between the main building and the mining laboratory, and is supplied with an anvil, tongs, and a few necessary tools, and a forge presented to us by the Buffalo Portable Forge Co. Thirteen students were in attendance during the session. They required a great deal of attention and oversight, and a great deal of thought and invention in order to devise work for them. As these things called heavily upon my time, I could not possibly have responded to the demands, had it not been for the aid of two students, Mr. Jackson and Mr. Anglin.

During the session we have added to our stock of appliances, partly by gift and partly by manufacture.

Mr. Barnard, of the Hart Emery-wheel Co., of Hamilton, gave us a valuable emery-grinder, consisting of six emery wheels, beautifully mounted and supplied with all the accessories of counter-shaft, etc.

John Bertram & Sons, the celebrated machine-makers, of Dundas, gave us a 20-in. drilling machine, new and complete in all its parts, and forming a valuable addition to our list of appliances.

As respects our own manufactures, we are necessarily as yet compelled to make various tools with which to make other tools, or to do required work; for we prefer making everything that we can make to buying.

The consequence is that our work does not bulk so largely in show as it does in usefulness and value. We have worked along a variety of lines, and have either finished or got far under way a number of useful machines. A list of these may not be out of place here:—

A reversible boring head, capable of boring cylinders 9 in. long and from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 5 in. diameter; two boring bars for boring and finishing smaller holes; two sets of iron shift pulleys; four split pulleys, wood (in action); a 7-inch gear-cutting engine for iron and brass; a $\frac{1}{2}$ h. p. electro-motor, with resistance coils; four mechanical models; two carpenters' benches; two step-ladders; two saw-horses; one 6-in. wall-drilling machine, not quite completed; one gig-saw; one drawing-table; various small tools, hangers, shafting, &c.

Mr. Carmichael designed the motor; the most of the other things were designed by myself. The machines which we most need at present, and which we cannot hope to make, are a shaping machine, which will cost something less than \$300, and a No. 7 Barnes lathe, or an equivalent one costing about \$200.

We are trying to do good work in the mechanical department, although working under disadvantages arising from limited resources. And, with proper encouragement from the public, and from friends of the University who believe in this new departure, we have no fear for the success of the undertaking.

Besides my regular work as Professor of Mathematics in the University, I have given two sets of lectures on astronomy, one descriptive and the other practical; a set of lectures on the principles of mechanism, and in the latter part of the session as many lectures as I could manage upon the mechanism of the steam engine.

My assistant, Mr. Carmichael, besides doing a part of the mathematical work, has given courses of lectures on electricity and on thermodynamics.

N. F. DUPUIS, *Dean*.

THE LIBRARY.

To the Board of Trustees of Queen's University :

GENTLEMEN,—During the past year 1322 volumes have been added to the Library, obtained from the following sources:—

Purchased, 908; Donated, 308; Bound Periodicals and Pamphlets, 106; making a total of 1,322.

Abstract of financial statement from Auditors' Report—

Total Expenditure	\$1,872 85
Total Receipts	1,657 00

Deficit.....\$ 215 85

Last year's deficit of \$538.33 has thus been reduced.

Included in the receipts is a donation of \$20 from Mr. Glashan, of Ottawa, his fee for conducting the University's local examinations at Ottawa.

During the past year the work of preparing the card catalogue has been continued, and is now almost completed. Nearly 40,000 cards have been prepared and placed in the case. About one-fourth of these have been devoted to the more important pamphlets and the leading articles in the standard periodicals. By this means a great deal of quite recent and valuable information, hitherto almost inaccessible, has been placed at the convenience of the students. During the past session 2,224 volumes have been consulted by the students.

The following is a statement of the expenditure during the past year in connection with the catalogue :

Balance on hand as per last Report	\$ 3 09
Received from the Treasurer	200 00

Total receipts\$203 09

Thomas McAuley, 20,000 cards	\$ 46 50
J. S. Shortt, assistance in preparing index titles ..	56 00
Miss S. Gibson, type-writing	69 50

Total expenditure 172 00

Balance on hand.....\$31 09

This will nearly serve to complete the work, and the expense of cataloguing the annual additions may be included in the ordinary library accounts for each year.

ADAM SHORTT, *Librarian*.

THE MUSEUM.

During the past year no additions have been made to the Zoological, Palæontological or Mineralogical collections. All specimens belonging to the two latter departments are now sent to the School of Mining and Agriculture. Specimens,

showing different grades of manufactured asbestos, were received from the Geological Museum at Ottawa, through the kindness of the Director.

When visiting Europe last summer I took with me between 1100 and 1200 specimens of our native plants, for which I secured exchanges at Oxford and Cambridge. Among these were a large collection representing the Flora of the British Islands; one from Anatolia, with a few specimens from different parts of Europe; one from Australia, and one from Tasmania. In addition to these, two packages have been received from the Provincial Herbarium of Natal, South Africa; one very fine collection of nearly 500 species from the National Herbarium at Washington, representing the Flora of Idaho; and one from the Biltmore Herbarium in South Carolina. Dr. A. T. Drummond has also furnished us with a large number of specimens of Lichens and Algæ, in addition to those he presented to the Museum last year.

The mounting and arranging of the specimens now on hand will occupy all the time I can devote to the work during the summer vacation. The Herbarium is now beginning to assume respectable proportions, but collections from the West Indies and the Pacific coast would greatly increase its value. Collections of Cryptogamous plants, especially Fungi, of which we have very few representatives, are very desirable.

JAMES FOWLER, *Curator.*

REPORT ON BOTANY CLASSES.

The summer medical class in Botany was attended by eight students, all of whom passed a most creditable examination.

During the winter session the number of students registered was: Junior Class, 29; First Year Honours, 14; Second Year Honours, 7; making a total of 50.

It is worthy of note that all these, with, perhaps, one or two exceptions, are teachers preparing for the position of Specialists in Science.

Last year I called attention to the fact that our supply of plants for the classes engaged in practical work was nearly exhausted. The students were asked to bring collections for the winter's work, but only one bundle was received, collected for the Gowan prize. J. Fletcher, LL.D., kindly furnished a couple of bundles, which were very helpful. Even with this help, it was necessary to confine the examination, in the Honour Classes, to half the number of specimens formerly used. In the Junior Class the difficulty was still greater, rendering it necessary to divide the class into two parts, which met on alternate days.

As each student in the Junior Class is required to analyse 50 plants, and each one in the First Year Honours 300, a large number of specimens is necessary. The Second Year Honour Class also requires collections of Grasses and Cryptogams, including material for microscopic work. In the United States excursion parties of students, accompanied by one or two Professors, or their assistants, are organized, and some special region is selected as the field of their operations. The localities chosen vary from year to year. Valuable additions are thus made to the Herbarium, and materials for the session's work provided. We cannot at present adopt this plan. Allow me to say that if no better arrangement can be made, I will endeavour to spend a few weeks collecting.

Last year a grant of \$150 for apparatus and \$50 for expenses was made by the Board. A number of articles were obtained in Paris, which, on application to the Department of Customs at Ottawa, were admitted duty free, thus leaving a balance on hand of \$23.35.

JAMES FOWLER, *Professor.*

PHYSICS.

Herewith are accounts of the expenditure during the past session and of balance in hand. You will observe that Prof. Fowler got \$200, and Mr. W. C. Baker \$100. Mr. Carmichael drew \$139 for apparatus in electrical engineering. It was a much needed improvement, having Mr. Baker all day in the laboratory to attend to laboratory students. There were 21 students who paid \$1 each for tickets and worked in the laboratory. I enclose Mr. Baker's detailed report of work done there. The rooms in the basement added to the Physics Department on the removal of Prof. Dupuis' mechanical engineering laboratory to more com-

modious quarters have been most desirable. An excellent room for developing photographs, a class-room and experimenting room for the students in electrical engineering, and a room for advanced experiments in Physics, have been made out of them, and well used during the past session. We are also already feeling the advantage of having engineering work-shops, where apparatus can be made and repaired by the students.

Receipts.

Balance.....	\$527 76
From Treasurer	382 00
Interest	5 83
	<hr/>
	\$915 59

Expenditure.

Prof. Fowler	\$200 00
Mr. Baker	100 00
Mr. Carmichael	139 00
Apparatus, &c	110 14
Balance in hand.....	366 45
	<hr/>
	\$915 59

D. H. MARSHALL, *Professor.*

REPORT ON ANIMAL BIOLOGY.

During the winter session the attendance in the Pass Class in Arts was 29; in the First Honours Class, 13; and in the Second Honours Class, 6. The Extramurals numbered 5. In the first year in medicine the attendance was 23; in the second year, 37, but eight of these were third or fourth year students, their attendance being voluntary. In histology the number was 42. The attendance of veterinary students was, in the first year, 8; in the second year, 8.

The following is an abstract statement of the receipts and disbursements in connection with our Physiological and Histological laboratory:

Receipts.

Laboratory Fees—	{ Medical Students	\$104 00
	{ Arts "	250 00
	Advanced by me.....	42 18
		<hr/>
		\$396 18

Disbursements.

Balance due.....	\$ 6 94
Wages, Laboratory Boy	56 00
Apparatus, &c.....	280 68
Dissecting material, &c	52 56
	<hr/>
	\$396 18

During the past five years we have been slowly adding to our apparatus and facilities for teaching Physiology and Histology. It was in these two departments that the wants of the students—especially those in medicine—were most pressing. The fact that, at first, I had four students in medicine in my classes for one in arts pointed out that the duty nearest at hand was to provide the best possible facilities for the study of Physiology and Histology.

While our equipment for teaching Physiology and Histology is still far from perfect, yet it is so much in advance of our facilities for teaching Comparative Anatomy and the natural history of animals, that I must for the next year or two devote more attention to these subjects, and to procuring additions to our reference library. The necessity for this becomes more apparent when it is considered, (1) that the number of students in Arts now taking Animal Biology (46) nearly equals that in Medicine, viz., 52; (2) that the attendance of 16 veterinary students during the past session entails the obligation of providing them with better instruction

in the comparative anatomy of the domesticated animals; (3) that it is desirable to offer facilities to our Honour graduates to remain and undertake research work.

Our students in Honour Biology are chiefly those who are studying to qualify themselves as Science specialists in the high schools. Keeping their future needs in view, it becomes necessary to develop the museum side of our work. We need not discuss the question: "Should Zoology be taught in our high schools?" The subject is on the programme, and it is our duty to fit our graduates to teach it. Now the aspects of the subject which receive prominence in the high schools are the classificatory and natural history ones, and hence the necessity to add to the number of our charts, models, skeletons and specimens collected in the museum. The excellent set of charts, purchased a few years ago by Rev. Prof. Fowler, should be completed. The purchase of models was recommended in my previous reports. As regards skeletons, some of them should be provided by the School of Mining and Agriculture, as skeletons of all the domesticated animals are necessary for teaching Comparative Anatomy to veterinary students.

As regards museum specimens, it would be a convenience if the Zoological specimens in the present museum could be transferred to the building in which the teaching is done. Good organization in biological teaching requires a building in which all branches of Animal Biology, including human anatomy, should be taught.

As regards the wants of those of our past graduates in Biology, who wish to devote themselves to research work, the crying need is for works of reference. Nothing can be done in research until the literature of the subject has been mastered. The practice amongst all biological workers now-a-days when publishing original matter is to give a historical synopsis of previous work up to date. General text-books are of no use for this purpose. A considerable list of American, British, German and French magazines must, therefore, be added to our library.

During the next two months I shall, if called on, furnish a list of charts, skeletons, museum specimens, models and reference magazines necessary for meeting the more immediate wants of my department. The cost may be estimated roughly at \$2,000.

I cannot close my report without acknowledging the valuable contributions of marine fauna which my teaching museum specimens received last summer from Dr. E. W. Fillmore, of Spencer's Island, Nova Scotia, from Mr. Nelson Goodwin, of Baie Verte, N.B., and from Prof. Goodwin, while spending his vacation in New Brunswick last summer. All the specimens were unusually well preserved, and have been much helpful in teaching during the past winter.

Mr. Wm. Moffatt, M.A., acted as senior demonstrator, and Mr. A. R. Williamson, M.A., as junior demonstrator. Each did his work very satisfactorily.

A. P. KNIGHT, *Professor*.

CURRENT EVENTS.

THE war between Turkey and Greece is already ancient history, to all except to the poor Greeks. They rushed on Turkey and their fate when—after an intervention as wise as Greece, it was heroic—they refused to accept the promise of the Powers to secure complete self-government for Crete, and refused to withdraw Vassos and his two thousand. Their wisdom was turned into folly at the instigation of bluff. They must have Crete for themselves, and that without delay. The Athens mob clamoured for war as if for a pic-nic, or as if they were stronger and more magnanimous than all Europe *plus* Turkey; and the ministry risked war rather than risk their popularity, and staked the existence of the kingdom on the intervention of Powers whose urgent advice they were contemptuously rejecting. To make the national fit of “swelled head” complete, secret political societies—the curse of every free country in which they exist—undertook to play at the invasion of Macedonia, just as if no responsible government existed, and as if the Turk were a kitten instead of a tiger. The Greeks are, as in the days of Cleon and Demosthenes, a strange mixture; but our debt to them is too great to permit us to utter reproaches in their hour of defeat and humiliation. Their untrained militia fought well against heavy odds, and preserved their *morale* after repeated retreats. They stampeded to Larissa, but the history of every other army in similar circumstances supplies abundant parallels.

The attitude of the British Government has been and is such that the opposition cannot score a point against it or suggest a sane alternative policy, while it gives hope that the Turk will be forced to drop the prey the war enabled him to seize. Sir Philip Currie has told him plainly that the example of Germany, in keeping Alsace and Lorraine as the lawful prize of success, is no precedent for him. The Turk, having forfeited his right to be considered civilized, cannot be allowed to extend his rule over any more of Europe than he has held for centuries. Should he submit to this hard but just law, a period of grace may still be given him. Should he harden his heart, his end will be as sudden and overwhelming as Pharoah's, no matter what the War Lord of Germany may say.

The Diamond Jubilee. The celebrations of the great Jubilee passed off without a single hitch or cause for regret. So far as concerns the Queen herself, they were the wide world's tribute to the superiority of goodness above everything else which the world recognizes; though it may be added

that goodness rises to the height of genius, when it takes such perfect form as Her morning message to the peoples of Her realm. So far as concerns the Empire, they mark an epoch. Recoil might be anticipated, according to the maxims that extremes meet, and that violent expressions of feeling provoke their opposite. But, as there has been no violence, there will be no recoil. Deep feeling, universally entertained, though existing in an unconscious or semi-conscious condition, received calm and fitting expression. The feeling thereby became clearer and stronger. All proposals to break up "that mysterious unity known as the British Empire" have consequently received their quietus; and public men will govern themselves accordingly. We are one people, in history and heart, in law and life, as well as in allegiance. When that is so, it cannot be beyond the power of constructive statesmanship to make us an effective political unity for common well-being and defence. We have a mission on earth, as truly as ancient Israel had; and when the United States raise their eyes a little higher than the level of the Monroe doctrine—which should rather be called by the name of Canning and which was very good doctrine for its day—they will claim a share in the glorious mission of establishing freedom, righteousness and peace upon earth; and their claim will be conceded without grudging. Meanwhile, Canada has to set her own house in order and do her own work, instead of indulging in tall talk about the shortcomings of her neighbour. We cannot remain content with a national life less full and vital than that enjoyed by our fellow-subjects in Britain or our neighbours across the line; for individuality withers when national life is incomplete. At present we are free at home, but dependents abroad. Mr. Laurier says that we are a nation. How can that be so, except figuratively or potentially, as long as we do not share in the supreme issues of nationhood? That Mr. Laurier recognizes this is evident from the general tenor of his language.

Taking his speeches in Great Britain as a whole, they mark the highest point he has reached as a statesman. Mr. Laurier in the Old Country. The manner was perfect, dignified and courteous; the touch light, as it always should be when high-bred men are addressed; while the thought was sincere, suggestive and suited to the time. Some of his supporters are disappointed at his accepting a title; but to refuse honours from the Queen on such an occasion would have shown pride akin to contempt. It was more generous to accept what was graciously offered; and that being so, no more need be said on the subject.

He outlined the political and commercial situation, so far as the relations of Canada to the Empire are concerned, with due reticence and firmness. The tariff preference to Britain is given

from gratitude and on its merits ; and on the same good business grounds, almost to the same extent, a similar preference might well be given her by the United States ; but as Canadians are not prepared as yet to deal similarly with nations who erect high tariff walls against them, the whole situation will have to be reconsidered, if it be decided that the Belgian and Zollverein treaties limit our freedom, and that those treaties are to be upheld in their entirety. As to the political situation, he admitted—and he must have made the admission reluctantly—that Canadians do not yet feel a grievance. When they do, he believes that the grievance can be redressed by means of the old-fashioned, well-trying principle of representation.

Our new Government shows that it has grasped the situation of the country. If the McKinley Bill and the Dingley Bill were not enough to prove to all men that our neighbours are wedded to their

The policy of the Canadian Government.

idols, their prompt rejection of our latest overtures for freer commercial intercourse settled the question, so far as Canada is concerned. The Government had to face, "not a theory but a condition." A reduction of the tariff on British products, (coal—strange to say—excepted), the acceptance of the fast line favoured by their predecessors—at a less subsidy and with changes which promise well, the deepening of the St. Lawrence Canal system, so as to give us within two years a maximum of fourteen feet at low water, all the way from the sea to the head of the lakes, provision for cold storage, and the bringing of the Intercolonial to the commercial capital of Canada, make up a well-conceived business policy to meet the condition. Details should be scrutinized, but the scheme as a whole is sound. We must increase our trade with Britain. We have no choice. The commercial unity of the Empire, gratitude, affection, self-respect, common sense, and our own interests, all point in the same direction, and the more vigorously we walk along that broad road the better. No detail of the scheme is so urgent as the deepening of the canals. What is the use of wasting money on Trent Valley and half a dozen other proposed canal systems, less or more in the moon, when, after more than half a century's vast expenditures, our great natural St. Lawrence route has only seven feet of water for transportation? The depth of a canal system is the depth of the shallowest canal of the series. We have 14 feet at one end—the Lachine—and 14 feet at the other end—the Welland, and in the middle no more than we had quarter of a century ago! Is that either business or statesmanship? Mr. Blair has grasped the situation, so far as plan is concerned. Now, let him "perform the doing of it" in the specified time, and then we shall know that a man is at

the helm. He has promised to do the work, the country has given him the money, and time is of the essence of the contract. Any one could do it in five years. He says that it shall be done in two. Let him show that a Government can keep its word, as well as the private company that built our railway to the Pacific.

Whether the Government has taking the wisest plan in extending the Intercolonial to Montreal, or whether contractors and political friends have milked the Government in arranging "the deal," are questions that must be investigated. Why the opposition in the Commons did not insist on investigation, instead of leaving it to the Senate, is not quite clear. The Senate has no moral weight, and therefore even when it is doing the right thing, its action does not command respect. Sooner or later the necessity for its existence will be seriously questioned, and when that day comes its end is near. We are told that its position is impregnable, but there is no such thing as an impregnable fortress. Let a government pronounce against it and go to the country on the issue. The Government would be sustained enthusiastically, and then what British government would refuse an amendment to the B.N.A. Act, even to the extent of wiping the Senate out of existence? It is practically impossible, except in connection with a civil war, to amend the constitution of the United States, whereas there is no such insuperable difficulty in the case of our constitution. Had the Senate taken action, when a Conservative minister announced that he had accepted from a railway contractor \$20,000 for the party purse, and that he would do it again if he got the chance, it would have vindicated its right to exist, and no one would have questioned its right to inquire into what—according to the naive confession of the Minister of Public Works—seems like a transaction of the same class. Not having done so, its interference now—if the Government is innocent—is injurious to the country, and, if the Government is guilty, actually furnishes it with a good plea for drawing a red herring across the scent.

Once the charges were made and interesting revelations given to the Commons about the purchase of *La Patrie*, investigation had to come. Political campaigns may not be made "with prayers," but we want to know if they are still being made with money stolen from our pockets. The Government need not fear the Senate, but it dare not disregard the protests of veteran friends like Scriver, Bain and McMullen. What one of these speaks out in meeting is echoed, with unparliamentary variations, by thousands wherever voters most do congregate—Government by corruption must cease, no matter who may have to be sacrificed or how many coalitions may be required. G.

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THE ORIGIN AND EARLY GROWTH OF HEBREW PROPHECY*.

ANYONE who comes under the influence of the idea of development soon discovers that the finished products of nature or the human spirit can be understood only in the light of their whole history. The great man now making history and creating the influences which mould the youth of a nation was once a boy himself, played upon by the moral and intellectual influences of his time, and can be thoroughly understood, if he ever can be understood, only when we follow him from the cradle upwards. And so the biographer of recent years, while allowing for the free play of his hero's individuality, has been careful to trace his ancestral history and set forth the discipline of home and school and university which gave shape to his early life.

It need not surprise anyone, then, that the student of Hebrew Prophecy should soon feel the need of a more or less thorough knowledge of its origin and early character. Such a perfect piece of ethical writing as the prophecies of Amos, the first writing prophet, must have been preceded by centuries of moral and literary preparation.

Moreover when we do make our way back to the infancy and boyhood of the great man, we are not at all surprised to find intellectual vagaries and moral weaknesses which his manhood has outgrown. So we should not be surprised, when we read the early

*A paper read at the Conference in Queen's University in February, 1897.

history of Hebrew Prophecy, to find in it moral weaknesses and childish practices which the later prophets outgrew and discarded. If we ultimately find that the early prophets of Israel for many years employed "not only the methods but even much of the furniture of the kindred Semitic religions" we need not, therefore, deny one jot or tittle of their later spiritual teaching, any more than we need believe that man is still a monkey because in his life's process he passed through the monkey stage. We should not hesitate to recognize the many foreign elements in the religion of Israel, for Israel so "regenerated and stamped with its own identity what it borrowed from others, as to bear indubitable witness to its own vital power and invincible capacity for assimilation."*

Let us divide our subject into two parts :—(1) The origin and external form of prophecy. (2). The growth of its spiritual content.

(1). The inquiry into the origin and early history of prophecy among the Hebrews is beset with great difficulties inasmuch as we have no records contemporaneous with the period of which we are to treat and our results must, therefore, at the best, be uncertain. True the word *nabi* is used by the Biblical writers to distinguish a personage as ancient as Abraham but the proper inference from such use of the word is not that Abraham was a real *nabi* but only that the writers have fallen into an anachronism, as any historian, writing of a time long past, is apt to do. The proof of this is to be found in a note in 1 Sam. ix, 9: "He that is now called a *prophet* was before time a *seer*." In this case, if a knowledge of the etymology of the word *nabi* could be arrived at with any certainty, it would be of great importance as an illustration of the conception of the prophetic function among the Israelites. But such knowledge is perhaps impossible, for each Hebrew expert seems to have an etymology of his own. Cornill traces it back to the Arabic in which the primitive Semitic type has been preserved most purely and finds its source in a root (*naba'a*) meaning "he who proclaims something definite," "the speaker who discourses not of himself nor of anything special to himself but as an agent for some other person." He points out also that

*Cornill.

this early signification has been preserved in the Hebrew in such a passage as Ex. vii, 1. But, in the first place, according to the Arabic lexicographers the root *naba'a* itself has very various meanings among which it is difficult to find one that can be regarded as central; and in the second place, Ex. vii, 1 cannot be taken as giving the meaning of the word but only as evidence of the conception among the Israelites of the prophet's function in relation to God. The word seems to have no root in Hebrew of the historical period and we must suppose either that it has survived from some remote antiquity or that it is borrowed. It can hardly be a very old word inasmuch as it is not a common Semitic term, and as the *nebi'im* were common to Israel and the worshippers of Baal, it is unlikely that the word is older than the settlement of the Israelites in Canaan. In this case it would be of Canaanite origin and its etymology becomes comparatively unimportant.

If the Hebrew word for prophecy is only a borrowed word, we see at once that prophecy is wider than Israel: in truth there was no ancient people but believed in the power of certain personages to consult the deity and reveal his will. It will be necessary, therefore, to study briefly the prophesying or sooth-saying of the general Semitic world, for only in this way can we get at the features of Hebrew prophecy in the time when "he that is now called *prophet* was called *seer*." The pertinency of this inquiry to our subject will be seen when we remember that the prophet who inherited the function of the seer did not for many years free himself absolutely from the seer's habits and the seer's tools.

If the prophet among any ancient people is the man who consults the deity and reveals his will, his prophetic utterances will depend on his conception of the deity: accordingly we must first see what the early Semitic conception of the deity was.

Among the Semitic peoples each tribe or nation, while not denying the existence of the gods of other tribes or nations, had its own tribal or national god. This national god in each case was regarded as the divine lord and often as the divine father of his nation. Other gods had the seat of their power in other lands and were his rivals and the enemies of his people. He was, therefore, to be looked to in all national concerns and had the right

to receive national homage. National misfortune was ascribed to his wrath, and national success to his favour. He was the ultimate director of all national policy—among other Semitic nations as in Israel. Chemosh commanded Mesha to assault this or that city and drove before him the King of Israel, just as Jehovah commanded Joshua to attack Ai and drove before him the people of that city—the parallelism extends not only to the ideas but to the very words. Jehovah like other gods appears with thunder and lightning. He bears the same titles—Melek, Adon, Baal. He holds a special relation to special places. The operations of his sovereignty go forth from Sinai or from Zion or from some other earthly sanctuary where he is nearer to man than on unconsecrated ground. He is propitiated by the same offerings and in the time of war orders the sacrifice of the captives and the spoliation of the cities with the same relentlessness, (see *e. g.* Joshua VIII). Not only was the god the director of all national policy: he was also in close connection with all the practical interests of their common life. Accordingly they asked of him the detection of criminals, the discovery of lost property, the settlement of civil suits, when war should be waged and by what tactics.

This need for consulting the deity created of necessity ways and means for such consultation, which may be summed up under two heads:—

(1). Visions either in a time of ecstasy or sleep. (2). Signs or omens such as the whisper of trees, the flight of birds, the passage of clouds, the movement of stars, the casting or drawing of lots, the shape of the entrails of sacrificed animals.

So much for prophecy in the general Semitic world. Our next question is, "have we any traces in the early history of Israel of the use of such crude means for consulting the deity as we have just mentioned?" We have. The Hebrew prophet gains influence by the wonderful things he does. Moses uses rods like the magicians of Egypt; he holds up his hands that Israel may prevail against Amalek. Joshua casts lots to discover a criminal. Samuel dreams in the sanctuary and discovers the lost asses of Saul for a fee. David keeps images in his house (1 Sam. xix, 13), and consults the Ephod (1 Sam. xxiii, 9), and accepts as a sign of battle "the sound of a going in the tops of the mulberry trees" (11 Sam. v, 24).

What then was the function of the *seer* in early Israel? If Saul was troubled when he went to Samuel to enquire about his father's asses because he had no fee, and if Samuel, as we may justly suppose, was among the best of the seers of his time, we may conclude that the Israelitish *seers* were honoured and consulted, not as afterwards on account of their zeal for the worship of Jehovah, but on account of the knowledge of hidden things which they were believed to possess and therefore that they did not rank much higher than the soothsayers among other nations of antiquity. It is true that the Old Testament has little to say in favour of the soothsayers of other nations, (see *e. g.* Deut. xviii, 10 ff), but the contrast which later prophetic writers could draw with justice is no proof that such contrast had always existed. In the eighth century prophecy had come to the full consciousness of its vocation and to reflection as to the best way of fulfilling it and to such reflection the soothsaying or prophesying of the earlier seers must have appeared altogether childish and inadequate. But reflection comes late in a nation's history and we must not suppose that the views of inspiration held by the later prophets were identical with those held by the seers three and four centuries previous. Nor are we denying a spiritual element in the work of the Hebrew seer, even if we admit that his tools were those of the ordinary soothsayers. Doubtless those tools offered countless temptations to professional fraud and avarice, to malice towards individuals, to subservience to the powerful and to the insincerity of routine so that their effectiveness always depended on the moral insight and character of the prophet himself. But in spite of their crudity they offered numerous moral opportunities to those that used them. "The prophet," says Prof. George Adam Smith, "was trusted to speak in the name of deity. Through him men believed in God and the possibility of a revelation. They sought from him a discrimination of evil from good. The highest possibility of social ministry lay open to him: the tribal existence often hung on his word for peace or war: he was the mouth of justice, the rebuke of evil, the champion of the wronged: and when such opportunities were present, can we imagine the spirit of God to have been absent?"

But though the early Hebrew prophet had recourse to the same crude instruments of divination as other Semitic prophets and

though his deity had the same external characteristics as the deities of other Semitic nations, we soon discover that the content of his prophecies reached a moral and spiritual elevation which has no parallel elsewhere in the Semitic world. We have just said that the purity or the impurity of prophecy depended on the moral insight and character of the prophet himself and therefore the purification of prophecy was sure to follow upon the moral elevation of the prophets and the spiritualizing of their conception of God. Now, whatever explanation we give of the fact, we know that there were moral influences at work in Israel which were not found among other Semitic peoples. We do not know why, of two boys born of the same parents and reared in the same home, one should be possessed of moral and intellectual energies which force him from his quiet home into the university and then into the leadership of some great movement of his time, while the other is content to remain at home and follow in the footsteps of his father—but we know that it is so. To be too inquisitive as to the reason would be to suppose that man was a sort of machine which could be taken apart, piece by piece, and examined. Likewise to insist on asking why the religion of Israel evinced from the very first an ethical force shared by no other Semitic creed would be to suppose that our psychological knowledge was much more profound than it is. We cannot tell whence the wind cometh or whither it goeth but we can see the trees shaken by it ; so we cannot tell, with anything like mathematical precision, whence the new spiritual impulse came into the souls of the Hebrew prophets, but we can see that it did come by the spiritualizing of their conception of God and the sloughing off of their old name and their old habits.

The first great transformation and the real rise of Hebrew prophecy came in the time of Samuel. Hitherto the prophet had been called *seer* (*roeh*) but now he is called *prophet* (*nabi*). Along with the name went also to a large extent the implements of soothsaying and the ritual of religion. The priests still preserved the ephod, the teraphim, the lot, the urim and thummin, but henceforth the prophets were mainly free of all such ancient forms of oracle. They were also free of the ritual of the local sanctuaries and had a fair field for the cultivation of prophecy along moral and spiritual lines.

What then took the place of the old habits and the old instruments? Instead of the solitary seer we now find bands of strolling prophets. Instead of the *teraphim*, the *ephod*, and the enchantments we have singing, playing upon instruments, dancing, frenzy, tearing of clothes and prostration. Prophesying is a united exercise accompanied by loud dance-music, is marked by strong excitement and sometimes acts contagiously. The person seized and fired by the deity falls into an ecstasy : now into so strong a transport that he loses all command of himself and does things worthy of a madman, (see *e. g.* 1 Sam. xix, 24, "Saul stripped off his clothes also and prophesied before Samuel in like manner and lay down naked all that day and that night," etc) ; again into an excited, elevated frame of mind in which he expresses with power and emphasis the thoughts revealed to him inwardly by the deity. Such operations of Jehovah were recognized as produced by a divine *afflatus* and the man who experienced them was called a man of the spirit.

One of the phenomena of ecstasy requires further mention and elucidation, viz.: the vision. "In some quarters," says Prof. Robertson Smith, "a great deal too much stress has been laid upon the prophetic vision as a distinctive note of supernatural revelation. People speak as if the divine authority of the prophetic word were somehow dependent on or confirmed by the fact that the prophets enjoyed visions. That, however, is not the doctrine of the Bible." If we are to understand the significance of the prophetic vision two things must be kept in view : (1) the fact that the Israelite recognized no second causes and (2) the manner in which truth worked its way into his consciousness. As to the first point the Old Testament is full of proof that the Israelites ascribed all phenomena to the direct and immediate action of Jehovah. The imagination played a larger part in their intellectual life than the understanding and hence they were utter strangers to the scientific habit of thought, by which one phenomenon is traced back to another. As to the second we must not suppose that truth came to the Israelite as it comes to most of us, through wide reading and profound reflection. He was a seer, gaining truth by the first leap of intuition ; truth came to him suddenly and of its own accord and often with such power as to overcome and command him. Consequently he

did not regard his vision as the fruit of his own study and reflection but explained it as the result of direct inspiration from above. He would have considered it atheistic even to attempt a physical or psychological explanation of it. Keeping these two facts in view we will not be inclined to lay undue stress upon the prophetic vision, and, while admitting that we can never adequately analyze the consciousness of the prophet, we will nevertheless have regard to the physical and psychological antecedents of that consciousness and make bold to see in the state of national tension, in which the prophet lived during the time of Samuel, a partial cause of his ecstatic and visionary condition.

The same phenomena, in fact, are to be observed to-day among the dervishes of Islam. The action of Saul which we have already quoted from 1 Sam. xix, 24 is precisely identical with what Ibn Khallikân relates of Kûkubûry that he used, under the influence of religious music, to become so excited as to pull off part of his clothes. But we need not go so far in search of a parallel. We have all attended Christian churches where frenzy and loud shouting and prostration were the effects of the religious exercises and, however crude and unintelligent the people appeared to us, we had to admit that they were at any rate sincere. But while the modern Hornerite works himself into a transport by means of a selfish passion for his own salvation, the Hebrew prophet was a patriot and an enthusiast for the people; while the Hornerite denounces all interest in politics, the Hebrew prophet took an active part in the political life of his time and by so doing avoided the unhealthy results of religious subjectivism.

The rise of the prophets (*nebi'im*) in the time of Samuel was due, historically, to a great burst of indignant patriotism. For many years the oppression of the Philistines had been growing more and more intolerable. The indignation of the Israelites, though suppressed, had been growing in proportion and it took the form, not of war, but of an increased interest in the service of Jehovah. One wave of this intense religious feeling found expression for itself in the formation of a religious order known as the Nazarites, who dedicated themselves or were dedicated by their parents for the whole of life to the service of Jehovah and vowed to let the hair grow long and to abstain from spirituous liquors. It can scarcely be accidental that the formation of this

order is related in the midst of the narratives dealing with that time of political depression. Nor, if we are to attach any significance to the connection between the Nazarite and the prophet which Amos assumes in chap. ii, vv. 11, 12, can it be by accident that a company of prophets is spoken of for the first time in the narrative of Samuel's life. It is very probable that this association had just then been formed. A wave of more intense religious feeling than usual had passed over the land and roused some of the worshippers of Jehovah to a state of ecstasy. This ecstasy had communicated itself to a larger number of them and had led to combinations of the enthusiasts and to exercises which kept up or revived their enthusiasm. One company established itself in the neighborhood of Ramah and of this company Samuel was the ruling mind to the end of his life.

Now if we ask ourselves why a new religious order had to be created for the embodiment of a new religious feeling, our answer must be that there was little room in the ordinary life of ancient Israel for intense religious excitement. The common acts of worship coincided with the annual harvest and vintage feasts or similar occasions of natural gladness and these were not such as to raise great enthusiasm. Consequently the religious emotions of the Hebrew were never raised to their highest, save when he was fighting the battles of Jehovah, and, as Jehovah was closely connected with the nation and the land, deep religious emotion and patriotism were synonymous. Therefore when the Philistine oppression had raised the religious fervour of the Israelites to extreme tension, some new religious order and exercise had to be created to give expression to this fervour. If they had found a captain at that time to lead them against the Philistines, their patriotism would have made an outlet for itself on the battlefield but not having found such a captain, there was no other course open but to create an enthusiastic religious order. And when we remember the moral influences which have issued from that order to bless the world, we may be grateful that the warrior Saul did not appear on the scene any earlier.

When the political conditions which produced this mode of prophecy passed away, the heat of prophetic enthusiasm necessarily cooled but, thanks to Samuel, "the prophetic order had done more than organize a new form of spiritual excitement."

Left to itself the enthusiasm might easily have run to all sorts of extremes, but the old 'seer,' accustomed all his life to practical work, and awake to the great interests of the nation, tided it over its time of transition and danger and transformed it into a great practical force in the national and religious life. The prophetic associations embodied an intenser vein of feeling both religious and national than had ever been expressed before in the ordinary feasts and sacrifices at the local sanctuaries. The struggle for freedom, for which the prophets were largely responsible, called forth a deeper sense of the unity of the people of the one Jehovah and in so doing raised religion to a loftier plane. Moreover the prophetic societies, having had most to do with the institution of the human sovereignty, preserved the traditions of that institution and naturally continued in close touch with it. In this way they gained an established footing in Israel and "came to be recognized as a standing sacred element in society." They upheld the laws of divine righteousness in national affairs and served as a check on the kings who were not answerable to human authority. Nathan counselled and rebuked David : She-maiah warned Rehoboam against going up to fight against Israel : Ahijah stirred up Jeroboam and Northern Israel to revolt against Rehoboam and afterwards overthrew Jeroboam's dynasty. At the same time they maintained their old habits. The ecstasy still survived and they still lived in communities. Elijah and Elisha had still upon them the hand of the Lord, as the ecstatic influence was called : Elijah when he ran before Ahab's chariot across Esdraelon, Elisha when by music he induced upon himself the prophetic mood.

The weaknesses of this mode of prophecy are obvious. First : ecstasy is always dangerous to the moral and intellectual interests of religion. When these elements are not present, it is apt to descend to drunkenness and the sexual passion and we have abundant evidence that this was its outcome with many of the strolling Hebrew prophets. This is why Amos cries out with such an emphasis of disgust that he is neither a prophet nor the son of a prophet. Second : the prophets' connection with public affairs made them flatterers rather than rebukers of those in high places. There have always been those in the Christian church who would prophesy smooth things for reward and we

need not wonder, then, that, as 1 Kings xxii tells us, four hundred prophets should flatter Ahab and Jehoshaphat promising them success in war, while only one—Micaiah—had the courage to speak the truth. But in spite of its obvious weaknesses this mode of prophecy did develop strong men who guided the affairs of the nation towards moral and religious ends and by their rebuke of sin in high places kept the conscience of the people keen and active.

Between Elijah and Elisha, the last prophets of this order, and Amos the first great writing prophet, Assyria began to make herself felt in Syria and Palestine and the important events which followed freed prophecy from all sensuous elements such as enchantments, frenzy and prostration, and transformed it into a purely moral and religious force, a combination of reflection and impulse such as can be found nowhere else in the world.

2. The growth of the spiritual content of Hebrew Prophecy.

We have seen already that the Hebrew prophet was not a philosopher, seeking truth by reading and reflection, but a seer, reaching truth by vision and intuition. Visions came to him, not as he sat alone in his study "far from the madding crowd," but while he was in the thick of some national or religious struggle, of which he became the interpreter and the mouthpiece. Hence the spiritual lineage of the great writing prophets is to be found in the national crises preceding them rather than in the oracles of their prophetic forbears. In Israel's history, as in that of most nations, there were creative periods which produced great men and lifted the national life to a higher goal. We need not discuss here the question whether the period creates the great man or the great man the period, but we know that the nation which has lacked either has never taken a prominent part in the world's history. By the providence of God Israel lacked neither the creative period nor the great man and therefore while his Semitic kinsmen remained at a stand-still Israel advanced step by step from moral childhood to moral manhood and became the religious teacher of the world. Before the coming of the Assyrian and the rise of written prophecy in the eighth century B. C., there were two great creative periods, viz.: the Mosaic and the Davidic, and we must study these in order to discover the moral antecedents of Amos, Hosea and Isaiah.

The time of Moses is invariably regarded as the properly creative period in Israel's history. First of all Moses may be said to have created *Israel's sense of national personality* and to have founded this sense of unity on religion. By giving to Israel a national Deity, Moses cemented together the different tribal elements, for, although it became apparent after the settlement of the tribes in Canaan that their formation into one nation was not guaranteed by their service of a common God, still the consciousness of a peculiar and intimate relationship between Jehovah and the tribes of Israel never died out and served ever afterwards to unite them against other nations and other gods. Moses did not create the faith that "Jehovah is the God of Israel and Israel is the people of Jehovah" but he impregnated it with new emotion and made it the fundamental basis of the national existence and history. Through him it was binding on Israel to serve only Jehovah; through him the religious instinct concentrated itself on one object and thereby received an intensity which prepared the way for the ethical monotheism of the prophets. This one and only God of Israel was not a metaphysical entity. Moses and the men of his time did not see the absolute separation between Jehovah and nature which became the great burden of prophetic teaching at a later period. To him the light and fire were more than symbols: they were the necessary channels of Jehovah's revelation of himself. "Alike what was done by the deliberate purpose of Moses and what was done without any human contrivance by nature came to be regarded in one great totality as the doing of Jehovah for Israel."* So close and intimate was the relation of Jehovah and his people that no distinction was known between divine and human law; both were God's institutions and commands. The Israelite could not conceive how any valid law might be merely of human formation or of human discovery. In his eyes everyone who sinned against the civil law sinned against God.

The second great contribution of Moses to Israel's nationality was the legislation by which he made God accessible in practical affairs, or, in other words, by which he connected the religious idea with the moral life. To him who had been the soul of their first great national movement—the exodus from Egypt—the

*Wellhausen.

Israelites naturally turned in all subsequent difficulties. In the desert and during their stay in the trans-Jordanic regions Moses stood at the head of the tribes. He was the representative of the Deity: in judicial proceedings his sentence was final and to him were brought all affairs with which the people could not cope. To him were delivered at Mount Sinai the commands of God for the further regulation of the common interests and by him the tribes were bound over to observe them. Being a man of profound patriotism and religious zeal he exercised his judicial functions neither in his own interest nor in his own name but in the interest of the whole community and in the name of Jehovah. Moreover he connected these functions with the sanctuary of Jehovah and made them independent of his own person, thus laying a firm basis for consuetudinary law. In this way he impressed a chosen few with his own conception of Jehovah's nature and of His will regarding Israel's relation to Him. As the book of Judges shows, the popular religion remained in many respects the same as before; still under Moses' influence Israel took a step forward, if it was only one step. Through the Torah he gave a definite positive expression to their sense of nationality and their idea of God. Jehovah was not merely the God of Israel; as such He was the God of law and justice, the basis of their national consciousness. "Jehovah, alone the God of Israel, who suffers no one and nothing besides Him, who will belong entirely and exclusively to this people, but will also have this people belong entirely and exclusively to Him, so that it shall be a pure and pious people, whose whole life, even in the apparently most public and worldly matters, is a service of God, and this God source and shield of all justice and all morality." This summary by Prof. Cornill seems to be not altogether inadequate as an estimate of the contribution made by Moses to the religion and nationality of Israel.

For those who may feel that the literary contribution of Moses to Israel has not been sufficiently emphasized, the following remarks from Prof. A. B. Davidson, whose sanity of judgment is well known, may be interesting and assuring. "It may be felt by some to detract from the greatness of Moses to conclude that he was not the author of every part of the Pentateuch. Yet, on the other hand, does it not raise him to a higher level and

place him somewhat on the same plane with our Lord? Jesus wrote nothing. His life was His work. Himself was the inspiration and the new seed thrown into the life of mankind. Of course Moses wrote something, the ten commandments at least and who can say how much more, both of civil and social law and ritual observance? But his main work may have been his life, the inspiration of his person, the new spirit which he breathed into Israel; setting it aglow with the fire that burned in his own heart, and the consciousness which he awakened in it of its destiny and its mission in the moral history of mankind."

The second great creative period in the history of Israel was the Davidic. We have already stated that Moses created Israel's sense of national personality, for the Israelites could not, otherwise, have maintained their tribal unity in the midst of the Canaanites, a people superior to them both in numbers and in civilization. But Moses did not give any outward political expression to this inner unity. That work was left for David, David captured Jerusalem and made that city the seal and symbol of the unification of the Hebrew tribes. He first welded the settled tribes into a kingdom, made them into one ordered people and one organic working whole. He created the nation and spread its rule to distant borders on the North, South and East. To the mind of the later prophets the David age of the Israelites was a time of great religious revelation and we must, therefore, ask what divine revelation did come through David. We may discover that revelation in the new word for God which came into use in and just after the days of David, viz: "Jehovah of Hosts," "Jehovah Sebaoth." David, as we have seen, was the first man to give Israel a unique place among the nations of the earth. He conquered all the peoples round about him and by thus extending the sway of Israel broke down the tribalism and extreme nationalism of former days and enlarged the self-consciousness of his subjects. This extension of their political horizon also quickened the intellectual and religious instincts of the Israelites and the best men among them soon were prepared for the revelation that the victory of one God over many was the establishment of a divine over-lordship. From the fact that one nation could rule over all nations as David had exemplified, the prophets then concluded that there must be one over-lord over all gods

and all peoples. In brief, then, the David-revelation, as interpreted by the prophets, was : " Jehovah is supreme Lord over all other gods, powers and nations."

The growth of the spiritual content of Hebrew prophecy may, therefore, be summed up thus : " As God of the nation, Jehovah became the God of justice and right ; as God of justice and right He came to be regarded as the *highest* power in heaven and earth." The next step is to regard him as the *only* power in heaven and earth but as this step was reserved for the great prophets to take, and as their writings will be discussed in other papers, we need not proceed any further in our history.

R. J. HUTCHEON.

When the evening is come, I return to my house and enter my study, but at the threshold I lay aside my rustic garb defiled with dust and dirt, and I put on royal and courtly attire, and thus worthily clad I enter the ancient court of the ancients, where being graciously received by them, I feed on that food which is mine alone, and for which I was born. There I am not afraid to talk with them, and to question them of the reason of their doings, and they of their goodness answer me. And thus for the space of four hours, I feel no weariness, I forget every trouble, I fear no poverty, and death itself cannot affright me, for my whole being has passed into them.

Machiavelli : *Letter to Francesco Vettori*.

THE ECONOMIC CONDITIONS AND DEVELOPMENT OF LABOUR IN GREAT BRITAIN.

DURING the course of this century the whole industrial framework has been radically reconstructed and more changes have taken place, than for the preceding eighteen centuries. Concurrent with the enormous growth of the population and of the empire, this age has witnessed a vast expansion of commerce and a rapid exchange of a rural for a town life. Doubtless the use of steam, gas, electricity and machinery of all kinds in manufacture and in locomotion, accounts for the revolution.

Nothing can be more fascinating than the story of corresponding increase in the material wealth of the empire—how the set of every sun finds the inhabitants of the British Isles two millions of dollars richer in houses, railways, shipping, bullion, land, capital, than they were at its rising. Books might be filled with the records of discoveries made in Science and Art, of the birth of new ideas and their application to the wants, conveniences and comforts of mankind, of the rise of industries and the growth of individual and of corporate wealth.

But of greater interest to us than the story of the *production* of wealth is the manner of its *distribution*. If it is true that the social economist has studied the former more than the latter, no wonder he has been hated by the labourer, and we will not repeat his folly. If it be true as has been so often asserted that the natural and necessary tendency of the modern industrial system is to confine its benefits of progress more and more strictly to the few and to push down the masses into ever deepening poverty, then we can sympathize with those radical reformers who declare the industrial framework of society to be essentially unjust and who clamor for its dissolution. For how can we countenance a system which makes such a hideous state of affairs possible and prevents the bulk of the people, those whose hands guide the machinery of the world, reap its harvests, distribute its commerce

and convert the raw material into saleable products, from sharing in the general advance? Of what advantage to the farmer that the machine cuts, binds, winnows and bags thirty times more grain in a day than his father could with a sickle, unless his own loaf is cheapened thereby? Of what avail to the weaver who stands at the spinning machine if its increase of six hundred per cent. in power over the old wheel has not given him cheaper and better clothes? Therefore if the increase of wealth has only served to make the rich richer, and has not like the rain fallen on the poor as well as on the rich, better if it had never been created; for the display of luxury tempts the birth of new desires and irritates by breeding discontent.

However I am persuaded that an examination will show that the labourer has been made at least a *partial* partaker of the increase of material wealth, and that his condition is decidedly better than it was a hundred years ago when the eminent manufacturer accompanied by his children and apprentices would be in the workshop at six o'clock in the morning, after partaking of a breakfast which consisted of porridge, made of water and salt with a little oatmeal. It will not be necessary to narrate any of the shocking details of mining and factory and workhouse life to show that in comparison with the past the economic condition has undergone a vast improvement. We will however glance at some facts which show that the gulf between the rich and poor is not widening, that the middle class is not being squeezed out and that the chance of making a bare living is not becoming more and more uncertain; but that the very reverse is the case. Certainly pauperism has not yet entirely disappeared and too many yet are starving with the rich clusters of plenty hanging in their sight. When we think of the thousands in the city of London who are burrowing in cellars and shivering in garrets, uneducated, mis-educated, incompetent, entering into the mad conflict of life like soldiers without weapons; when we consider the helpless crowds who are the victims of our rapacious, grinding, heartless civilization; we see that our modern industrial system has not absorbed that unfortunate and melancholy army which staggers on its way to the grave under the tattered banner of poverty. But it is some consolation at least to know that the pauper class is becoming less numerous relatively to the whole population, having

been reduced during the last fifty years almost fifty per cent. (from nine in every two hundred of the population to five). Certainly too the selfish principle yet underlies and permeates the structure of society and perhaps as never before money is worshipped by devotees devoid of pity, and capital is determined to wring from labour all it can and men are ready to prey upon and plunder their fellowmen ; yet an examination will show that the state does not unconcernedly look on to see its citizens pauperized, that legislation has an ever increasing interest in the welfare of the masses, that competition is being regulated and that many of the accursed evils which have nestled in the bosom of our civilization may be eradicated and removed. The study of sociology is in its infancy. And as after ages of pain and thought it has been discovered that government is for the well being of the many and not of the chosen few whose function it is to rule, so it is gradually being found out that the energies of commerce and trade are to be directed towards the happiness of the many and not for the lordly affluence of the few ; and when this is fully discovered the rich gifts of Providence will be distributed more equally among the masses and the labourer will then enjoy his proper share. Indications are that this revolution has already begun and will be accomplished, without violence, by the quiet steady working of forces already operating in society. Fifty years ago Great Britain stood face to face with a crisis solvable to all appearances by force alone, yet through the quiet working of economic forces along constitutional lines a vast improvement has taken place. Our appeal is to statistics and to "stubborn facts." Fortunately for us we can take advantage of and use the work of others who have carefully covered the field. W. H. Mallock in a book recently published presents these facts, most interesting for all, and most startling for those whose outlook is pessimistic. He shows that rapid as has been the increase of population as a whole from 1850 to 1880 the increase of the classes who pay income tax has been far more rapid. The population increased from 27 to 35 millions. The income taxpayers increased from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $4\frac{7}{10}$ millions or in the ratio of 27 to 84.

Thus the growth in wealth of the rich and the middle classes does not mean the growth of fortunes already established, but the constant creation of new fortunes by individuals rising

from the ranks. Those whose incomes are below £150 per annum (the working class) increased by 15%; those whose incomes are between £150 and £1,000 (the middle class) increased by more than 300%. Of the millionaires (whose total increase of wealth if divided among the people would only give each inhabitant one shilling per month) seventy-seven of their incomes were derived from business which added to the nation's wealth; whilst the working classes increased in wealth very much faster than any other class in the community, both in the aggregate and in the average individual income. In 1860 the aggregate income of the labourer was equal to the aggregate of all classes in 1800 (after deducting the increase of population); and in 1880, after making this deduction their aggregate income was more than equal that of all classes in 1850. Thus, he shows, the working classes in 1860 were in precisely the same pecuniary position as the working classes in 1800 would have been had the entire wealth of the kingdom been in their hands. And the same classes to-day are in a better pecuniary position than their fathers would have been could they have plundered and divided between them the wealth of every rich and middle class man at the time of the building of the first great Exhibition. So that the miracle of redistribution dreamed of by the socialist has actually twice taken place in three generations, without any attempt at revolution and in consequence of the very economic tendencies against which they protest. The fact is that nearly the whole of the advantages gained during the past half century have gone to the working class. His conclusion is that "on nine tenths of the population our modern industrial system has effected great good and should not be interfered with because the one tenth has not yet been reached, any more than a great steamer with six hundred passengers should be wrecked because sixty of them had bad accommodation in the steerage."

Another authority, than whom there is no more reliable investigator of social statistics in Great Britain is Sir Robert Giffen, statistician to the Board of Trade, whose statement is that during the last thirty years the general wage of artizans and weavers has increased seventy per cent. whilst their hours of labour have decreased from ten to nine per day. Mulhall in the "History of Prices" shows that the condition of the working

classes has so much improved that they consume twice as much as they did in 1850, and that the purchasing power of money is greater. 140 lbs. of bread can be purchased as cheaply as 77 in 1860, and 15 shillings will now buy as much manufactures as 20 would in 1850. So taking increased wages and food values together the English workingman can purchase 21 per cent. more of the necessaries of life in beef, butter, wheat, sugar and coal, than he could in 1840, and after allowing for enhanced rent there would still be a gain of 10%. By looking in other directions we find abundant confirmation of this. The Savings Banks show that the amount deposited there per inhabitant rose from \$7,00 in 1860 to \$11,25 in 1882. In the vitality of the people there is a great increase (5 per cent.); and how shall we compare the educational facilities of 50 years ago with those of the present? In 1839 the first grant to education by the government inserted at the immediate suggestion of the Queen was \$150,000. In 1871 the system of education was nationalized. Since that time what a large number of universities and colleges have been established where workingmen can receive a technical education at a nominal fee, thus placing the key which unlocks the door of knowledge in their hand. Add to this the free libraries, museums and parks, the orphanages, hospitals, asylums and charity schools, all of which are direct contributions of wealth to poverty for the alleviation of sickness, accident and death. Consider too the beneficial legislation, whose scope is ever enlarging, directly in the interests of the labourer both to protect his natural rights and to increase his opportunities as *e. g.* the repeal of the corn laws; the various factory acts; the long series of enactments for the better housing of the labouring poor, their defence against accidents occurring from defects in machinery or from the negligence of the employer or his agents; the various laws for the enforcement of sanitation in shops and factories and for the inspection of mines; the fostering of co-operative effort, and of those great Trade Unions which have collected millions of dollars for the purpose of giving effect to their views of society, and one wonders if there is anything in history to correspond with the improvement in the labourer's condition. No one contends that things are yet as they should be, that the labourer receives his full share. The civilization of to-day will probably appear as crude to our grand-

sons as the civilization of fifty years ago does to us, but surely it is not too much to say that the labourer's condition is on the path to improvement, and that there are forces at work in society which may continue to uplift and bless. What are these forces which have already done so much and from which we may yet expect a great deal?

1. Emigration. It is easy to see how this will relieve congestion; it is not so easy to think that not until 1824 was freedom given to the skilled artizan to emigrate.

2. The introduction of machinery. Although at the time this brought the severest privations to the labourer, whose wages were lessened, if indeed he was not thrown out of employment altogether, whilst the profits of the capitalist were enormously increased, yet ultimately the introduction of machinery operated favorably in cheapening products and in bettering wages. There are three ways in which wages have been increased along with; although they may not exist concurrently with, the introduction of machinery: (1) By the restraints imposed by law on the employment of labour which thus prevented children from entering into disastrous rivalry with their seniors. Infant labour was at its worst and greatest height before any one thought of a factory. The Factory Acts not only prohibited the employment of many children, but regulated the hours of labour for all.

(2) By the restraints on labour imposed by the joint action of the labourers themselves. Though this joint action was very slow in operation at first, and though serious mistakes were made before the labourer discovered the proper use of his new powers, great good has been accomplished.

(3) By the competition of capitalists as producers. But as all these causes were slow in operation and as the labourer looked only at the probable immediate effects of his work being performed by a machine without a heart to feel, or a stomach to be fed, or a family to be provided for, it is not much wonder that he regarded the adoption of machinery with the most profound hostility. Yet facts show even here a great gain to the labourer. In employments where there is little or no machinery wages are lowest. Where machinery exists there is greater demand for the product (owing to the lower price), more regular employment of the labourer, and in the course of time greater remuneration.

3. The already mentioned growth of humanitarian or philanthropic sentiment, crystallized in legislation regulating the kind of labour to be employed, and the hours of labour, the ventilation and sanitation of factories, etc., resulting generally in protective laws for children and others, and in securing opportunities for education.

4. The education of the labourer has been a great force. New energy and self reliance have been developed and the people gradually improved as their environment was improved. Otherwise an improved environment would have been only temporary. A labourer who works simply with his muscle may be replaced by a machine or a horse or a Chinaman. Hence the necessity of development from within through educational and moral forces. You cannot take a nation and by some magic bath restore it instantaneously from decrepitude, disease and dirt, from vice and ignorance to manliness, health, virtue, self-respect, sobriety, knowledge, forethought and wisdom. Education is a gradual process and will ever be of increasing power as an uplifting force.

5. Free trade. History demonstrates clearly that protection against foreign competition is a great wrong done to labour. It swells the profits of the capitalist, cripples the energy of the workman by narrowing his market, shortens the means of the consumer by making that expensive which he wishes to purchase. One lesson of enormous value which political economy teaches is that any hindrance put by law or custom on the purchaser's market is a wrong to every one, to the consumer first, the labourer next and the capitalist last. It is only because the capitalist is touched last and in the meantime may reap enormous profits that protection exists. Undoubtedly free trade has made England the great manufacturing centre of the world. One wonders if it would not be worth the study of our statesmen to find out how far protection in this country is responsible for the booming of our cities, the weakening of the resources and the consequent decrease of our rural population, and thereby the increase in our cities of those who cannot find employment. Nature demands a penalty for every violation of her laws and any artificial obstruction in the natural course of trade will make a sore upon the body politic.

6. Trade Unions. A trade union is a continuous association of wage earners for the purpose of maintaining or improving their condition. For a long time their history was one of unmitigated persecution. Men said "let there be freedom of contract, let wages adjust themselves." And so long as individuals are dealing with individuals this method works fairly well. But changed conditions, brought on largely by the introduction of machinery, necessitated aggregations of capital and combination of employers, with the result that competition was no longer free. One man is powerless against a thousand. Hence labour was obliged to combine. In 1824 a bill to legalize trade unions passed through the house quietly and rapidly without debate or division. In spite of the financial panic of 1825 which dashed to the ground the high hopes of the promoters and in spite of the vigorous attempts made to destroy them, labour organizations have been extended on a large scale and are here to stay, freed from many of the imperfections which characterized them at an earlier date. What is their value? That man is surely blind who cannot see in the antagonism between class and class which strikes, lockouts and labour wars have begotten (not to speak of the tremendous loss in wages and profits), a *real and serious danger*. Yet in face of the fact that capital has long been organized, haughty, arrogant and oppressive trade unions must be recognized as necessary until the principles of brotherhood are recognized. There can be no doubt but that they have been the best friends of labour and to them is largely due the improvement in the labourer's condition. Where organization is not found the horrible evils of the sweating system are found. Inventions which should materially lessen the toils and increase the gains of the labourer as for example in the case of tailors and seamstresses, have simply swelled the profits of the employers, through lack of proper organization on the part of labour. One is pleased to see that as these great societies of skilled artisans have been built up with their centralized administration, their trained staff of salaried officers, their financial strength and very large and permanent membership, a new model of organization has been adopted whereby brotherhood is taught, friendly benefits secured, and industrial diplomacy substituted for the ruder methods of class war. Doubtless the beneficent effects of this new idea were very

manifest in 1889 when the current of social propaganda was turned from revolutionary to constitutional channels and its aim clearly defined as the securing of restriction of the hours of labour, the payment of wages weekly in current coin, and the establishment of Boards of Arbitration for the settlement of disputes.

7. Co-operative Industry. Concurrently with the introduction of machinery, which necessitated such combination of capital as provoked labour organizations, there became manifest the great evil of the industrial war about to begin. The solidarity of capital in one camp against the solidarity of labour in another camp meant serious danger to the solidarity of society. Accordingly reformers arose who aimed at organization of a better kind—co-operative control of industry and sharing of profits by workmen owning stock in the concern that employs them.

Personally, I regard this as the great remedy for the evils of of society, and that along these lines labour is to make its greatest advances in intelligence, organizing power, refinement and brotherhood. I know how history is against this idea, how terribly disappointed its promoters have hitherto been in this new social machine, on which so many high hopes were built, and how socialists such as Mr. and Mrs. Webb laugh at the idea of competition being abolished and ownership socialized by organized voluntary association to supersede state ownership. I know how difficult it is for the hand to recognize the superiority of the head, for the manual labourer to reward the brain worker, so that it has hitherto been impossible to secure the highest and best services in the management, and thus disastrous failures have resulted; I know, too, how difficult it is for the smaller capitalist to hold his own against the larger, how capital increases much more rapidly than in proportion to its size, and how the huge factory builds up its pitiless prosperity on the ruin of twenty smaller competitors; yet it is not too much to expect that the movement will outgrow these limitations.

As knowledge increases co-operative industry will contemplate and provide for evils which its first forms did not foresee, and the integrity of its principles will yet command its success. Of this scheme, as of none of its rivals, can it be said that it violates no principle of righteousness. The much vaunted single tax splits on the rock of Justice. No political economist in Great

Britain takes seriously Henry George's proposition to confiscate the hitherto recognized rights of the land owner. Trade unionism arraigns labour against capital, class against class. Socialism would weaken in the labourer those very qualities on which his industrial success rightly depends. But co-operative industry based on righteousness develops in man those very qualities which are the recognized pre-requisites of success :—

Brotherhood, by giving labour a principle of cohesion ;

Thrift, through the encouragement of small savings and the abolition of the credit system, which is almost as great a foe to labour as strong drink ;

Industry, by helping him to help himself. As the masses become more educated and intelligent it seems less likely that they will quietly submit to have their maintenance dependent on the caprice of the few. The labourer will not long be content to bloat a few monopolists. He will demand his share of the profits of the enterprise, and rightly so. And how will this be obtained ? By affording him an opportunity of investing his capital, his skill and his labour in the enterprise, whose profits he will be allowed to share. This is socialism stripped of its false theories and dangerous elements and visionary impossibilities ; this is Christianity applied to the purposes of trade and industry.

W. A. HUNTER.

THE CABOTS AND THE DISCOVERY OF CANADA.

IT IS just five years since our neighbours celebrated by the Chicago Exposition the fourth centennial of the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus, for it was on the 12th Oct., 1492, that he first sighted the land of this American continent. Columbus was a native of Genoa, one of the principal seaports of Italy, and an important republic.

The Crusades, if they did not create the great mercantile interests of the Italian republics, at least gave them a very great impulse. Previous to that period the great commercial routes from central, and even further Asia to the West, were from the North by the plains of central Asia to the Oxus and the Caspian Sea, and from India and the South by the Indian Ocean and Persian Gulf up the Tigris and Euphrates to the Caspian and Black Seas, and either by the Volga to central Russia and Novgorod, which became the great entrepot for northern Europe, or by the Dneiper into western Russia, or by the Danube into southern Europe; and from the Danube, generally by Ratisbon, there was a land carriage by Nuremburg and Ulm across to Strassburg, which became the great distributing point. It was essentially the *Strasse-burg*, the town on the road; the diverging roads passing by the Rhine to northern France and Germany, as well as to the Netherlands and even England, or from Strassburg by the Rhone and Marseille to Italy and Spain, or into central France.

In the seventh century the eastern lands fell into the hands of the Saracens, and not long after all intercourse between the East and West was interrupted.

In the eleventh century, however, there was a very general awakening of the people of Europe to new political, or at least, municipal freedom. This is shown in the North in the case of the towns of the Hanseatic and Rhenish Leagues, of the Communes of Flanders, and of the Free Towns of England, or in the Communes of France, the Free Towns of Spain, and not less in the Republics of Italy. In the case of the towns on the coast, and along the rivers, the impulse tended to the development of

commerce, and this was especially remarkable in the seaports of Italy, and, as the earlier Mahometan fanaticism had partially exhausted itself, commerce began to revive, and was diverted from the old land routes to the towns on the east coast of the Mediterranean. This re-opening of trade with the eastern lands received, however, a check of a more violent character through the new invasion of these eastern lands by the Turks, a rude Scythian horde from the high lands of the more northern part of central Asia. These put a stop to all commercial intercourse with the West, and it was the harsh treatment which the Christian pilgrims to the sacred places of the Holy Land received from the Turks that called forth the great movement of the Crusades.

The Crusades were, perhaps, the strangest, yet most important movement of the Middle Ages. They were a series of adventures of at once a religious, political, social, commercial and chivalrous character, and though they certainly failed in accomplishing their purpose, yet their results on Europe were most important. They gave a much wider direction to the commercial enterprises which were just beginning in Europe, especially in Italy. Nearly all the towns along the coast of the Levant, from Antioch to Alexandria, fell into the hands of the Crusaders, and with these towns the Italian Republics, such as Genoa, Pisa, Amalfi, Beneventum and Venice opened up a most lucrative trade. It was usual to assign a particular part of a town, as a ward or quarter, either to a particular trade or commercial enterprise, or to the merchants of a particular town. Cities, such as Antioch, Beeroot, Jaffa, Alexandria, or even Jerusalem, were divided into several wards or quarters, each quarter being sometime separated from its neighbour by a wall with its several gates. The merchants of each quarter were generally allowed to occupy and transact their business under their own municipal laws, or under a distinct guild government. Unfortunately, the Italian Republics, like the separate States of old Greece, which they in many respects resembled, were kept apart by petty jealousies, and their life in their respective quarters in the eastern cities rather tended to foster these jealousies, and the result was almost continued wars between the seaport republics of Italy, attended by the ruin of nearly all these towns. Genoa and Venice protracted the struggle long after the other towns had fallen out.

The Crusades had failed in their purpose. Not only did the holy places remain in the hands of the Moslems, but the Ottoman power extended its authority over the whole of the East, and encroached on the States of Europe. All Greece became subject to it, and in 1450 Constantinople fell into its hands. Pisa lost all her eastern possessions. Pera, the eastern suburb of Constantinople, was lost, as was Caffa, at the north-east corner of the Black Sea, in both of which Pisa commanded an extensive commerce. Venice, with greater worldly wisdom, made a treaty with the Sultan by which his aid was secured in opposing the encroachment of the house of Aragon, which then held the two Sicilies, and by this same treaty Venice was allowed for some time longer to carry on trade with the East. But through the encroachment of the Turks on the eastern and northern shores of the Adriatic, threatening the independence of Venice, war again broke out. Venice was defeated, and became entirely shut out from trade with the East. Those towns along the eastern shore of the Levant which during the Crusades had encouraged the commerce of the Italians, now formed a cordon, closing against the West all ingress to eastern lands, and in this way Italian commerce with the East, which had been seemingly an inexhaustible source of wealth, was completely destroyed.

It was at this time, and under these circumstances, that the commerce with the East was driven to seek another direction. The vigorous and ambitious little State of Portugal rounded the Cape of Good Hope, and once more opened up trade with the East, and planted her colonies in more than one advantageous position. But the passage to India and the further East by the Cape of Good Hope was long and dangerous, and the question of the possibility of a western passage seemed naturally to suggest itself. To Christopher Columbus, familiar with the sea, cherishing associations with the commercial and naval achievements of his native city, and conscious that it was useless to entertain any hope of opening up trade with the East by the cities of the Levant, the prospect of finding a western passage must have been peculiarly attractive. It seems for some time to have engaged his study, and he at length offered to his native city to conduct a voyage of discovery to the west, seeking by that route a passage to the East. Genoa was not in a position to accept the proposal. Rome

treated his offer with coldness. He therefore sent his brother Bartholomew to London to lay the matter before Henry VII, while he himself went to Spain to seek the aid of Ferdinand and Isabella. Both the English and Spanish courts accepted the offer, but the associations of Columbus were much closer with the court of Madrid, and it was only natural that he should prefer to rely on the aid of Spain. England had not as yet taken any active part in the politics of the continent. She had remained in her splendid isolation. For the last hundred and fifty years England had suffered from incessant wars—the Hundred Years War arising out of the claim of Edward III to the French crown, and the wars of the Roses, which had an even more blighting effect on England. These wars were ended only by the battle of Bosworth, and the destruction of the Yorkist cause by the death of Richard III, and the establishment of the New Monarchy, the accession of Henry VII, and his marriage with the Lady Elizabeth the heiress of the House of York. By this settlement peace and safety which are so necessary to trade and commerce, were secured, and England entered on a new period of her history. She took her place in the great commonwealth of European nations, and she began to look out to the wide expanse of the western ocean. It was doubtless the knowledge of these facts which on the one hand induced Columbus to turn to England, and on the other hand induced Henry to promise the aid and protection of the English flag. But in the words of Bartholomew Columbus “God had determined otherwise.”

John Cabot must have been by a little the junior of Christopher Columbus. We do not know if they were friends, or indeed ever met, but Genoa was not a very populous city, and the sympathies and tastes of the lads lying in the same direction, and belonging as they apparently did to the same class of society, it is very probable that they may have been thrown together. Under any circumstances the religious, social, and literary atmosphere they breathed must have been the same, and alike must have been their associations with the past naval and commercial glory of their common native city. But the hopeful days of Genoa were past, and Cabot left his native city to seek employment from her successful rival Venice. This must have been about the time when Venice had made her treaty with the Sultan to which we before

alluded, and Venetian commerce had still a large measure of vitality. There was a law in Venice by which the rights of citizenship were granted after a residence of fifteen years, and according to the archives of the Ducal palace this privilege was granted to John Cabot on the 28th March 1476; he must therefore have left Genoa for Venice not later than 1461. He married in Venice, and his three sons were born there, for though Stow, in his chronicles of England of this period, says that Sebastian Cabot was born after the removal of the family to England he is certainly in error, for when the father John Cabot applied for letters patent it was in the name of his three sons as well as his own. But letters patent would not have been granted to children still in tutelage, so that in 1496, the year in which these letters patent were issued, the youngest Sanctius must have been twenty-one years of age, and there is no reason to believe that the Cabots were in England before 1490; so that it is most probable that all the sons were born in Venice. The Cabots seem to have gone to London, but shortly after to have removed to Bristol, the Liverpool of that day, and which was regarded as the most suitable point of departure for western discovery. In the autumn of 1496 John Cabot addressed the following petition to Henry VII "To the King our Sovereign lord. Please it Your Highness of your most noble and abundant grace to grant to John Cabot, citizen of Venice, Lewis, Sebastian and Sanctius his sonnes your gracious letters patent, under your great seal, in due form to be made according to the tenour hereof ensuing, and they shall during their lives pray to God for the prosperous continuance of your most noble and royal Estate long to endure."

In accordance with the petition on the 13th February, 1497, letters patent were issued to the Cabots, authorizing the equipment and expedition of five ships, to be fitted out at their proper costs and charges, and granting them the entire monopoly of any results of the expedition, and the entire occupancy and holding "of all firm lands, isles, villages, towns and castles, and places whatsoever they be, that they shall chance to find;" reserving a fifth of the profits to be paid to the King.

It is astonishing how much obscurity hangs over the two voyages of the Cabots. We gather very little from English authorities, and the allusions to the expedition in the archives

of Bristol are very meagre. We are compelled to accept testimony from Italian and Spanish sources, and these frequently contradict each other. They seem to have received their information from Sebastian Cabot at a subsequent period, and either Sebastian's memory must have been very untrustworthy, or for some reason he afforded a very garbled statement: certainly he confused the events and dates of the two voyages and assigned dates, which if he is properly reported were wholly impossible. He also evidently wished to take to himself all the glory of the two expeditions, and almost ignored his father. He seems on the second voyage to have merely casually mentioned his father's name, and there is nowhere any allusion to his return from that voyage. In fact, the father's name drops entirely out of the narrative, and we are left in doubt whether he ever returned to England. There is no mention of the brothers Lewis and Sanctius, and we do not know whether they took advantage of the letters patent issued in 1497. Sebastian Cabot subsequently removed to Spain, and in 1522 he was enjoying the marked favour of Charles V. But at this very time he sent a trusted friend to Venice to inform the Council of that Republic that he was prepared to reveal information on which depended the future welfare of the Republic. We have no means of knowing the nature of the secret, but we know that the relations between Venice and Spain were at that time very critical. This was just a few years after the League of Canbrai, when Venice had lost all her possessions on the mainland. Charles V. had invaded Italy, in order to wrest Milan and Savoy from France, and Venice had taken the side of France. There can be little doubt that the secret which Sebastian Cabot proposed to reveal to the Council at Venice must have been to the prejudice of Charles, in whose service Sebastian then was, and from whom he had received several favours. In 1547 Sebastian was in England with the consent of Charles, from whom he had received some title of distinction, and a pension. In England he became associated with the famous company of Moscovy, whose object was to seek a passage to Cathay by the Northeast. In January 1548 Edward VI. made him Pilot Major of England, and settled on him a pension of £166.

In 1549 Charles V. recalled him to Spain as the recipient of a

pension from the Spanish crown, and therefore regarded as a Spanish subject. Sebastian, however, refused to leave England, pleading that he was the recipient of an English pension, and he applied to the councillors of Edward, who replied that as Cabot had expressed an unwillingness to leave England, they saw no reason in justice to force him to leave the country, and in the course of the same year Edward granted him a gratuity of £200. In 1551 Sebastian opened negotiations with Venice; this time offering to conduct a Venetian expedition to the East by a strait he claimed to have discovered. These negotiations also failed. Some two years later Charles, who seems still to have had a very high opinion of Sebastian's knowledge of nautical affairs, urged Queen Mary to direct his return to Spain, but Sebastian again refused. The cause of these repeated refusals is open to conjecture. It would certainly look as if he were afraid that his overture to Venice had become known to the Spanish court. In 1557 he resigned his English pension, but two days after it was restored, to be shared, however, by one William Worthington, who was engaged with him in certain services. The pension had been originally granted "in consideration of good and acceptable services," and it no doubt ceased when he was no longer able to discharge these services, or rather it was divided with a co-adjutor.

Sebastian Cabot must now have been over eighty years of age, and we learn from two different sources that his mind had become much enfeebled. The item of 1557 is the last notice we have of him. We do not know where or when he died. A contemporary writer, Richard Edner, says that he died about the close of 1557, but we do not know how much credibility we are to give to this statement.

It is very unfortunate that no journal of the voyages of the Cabots, nor indeed any manuscript whatever, has been preserved. Besides two contemporaries, who make mere allusions to the voyages, we have a somewhat longer notice by one Pedro Martyr, of Anghiera, and another by an unknown de Ramusius. Both these represent themselves as receiving their information from Sebastian Cabot himself. Pedro Martyr writes: "Directing his course towards the north Sebastian Cabot tells us that he met great masses of ice, which in the month of July were floating

in the sea. The duration of the day was continuous, and they saw great icebergs. So he was obliged to change his course more to the west. Then he turned more to the south, and coasted along the shore till he reached the latitude of the Fretum Herculeum."* De Ramusius is a little more full, and he quotes from a letter of Sebastian as follows: "At the commencement of the year 1496 I set sail in a north-westerly direction, not expecting to reach any other land than Cathay, and to pass by there to India. But after some days I discovered the land stretched away to the north, which displeased me very much. I, however, continued to coast along in hope of finding a gulf which I might sail through (*que Je puisse contourner.*) I did not find any, but I remarked that the land extended to the 56th degree of north latitude. Seeing that then the coast inclined to the east, and despairing of finding a passage, I returned to examine the coast in the direction of the equator: still with the intention of finding a passage to India, and I arrived at that part of the coast which is now called Florida." This letter was lost, and we have only de Ramusius' recollection of it.

De Ramusius also informs us that Sebastian told him that his father died at the time when the news of the discovery by Columbus reached England. Besides this information, there is a short notice taken from the records of the city of Bristol. "In the year 1497, the 24th of June, on St. John's Day, was Newfoundland found by Bristol men in a ship called the *Mathew*." There are several maps in the archives of some of the cities of Europe which claim to present the earliest discoveries in America. Some of these are believed to be copies of maps draughted by Sebastian Cabot himself, and on the margin of two or three of these maps are notes said to be from information afforded by Sebastian. Now it is difficult to determine how far this information is reliable. In the first place the date given by Sebastian for his father's death, as reported by de Ramusius, cannot possibly be correct. The voyage of Columbus was in 1492, and it was immediately reported to the English king. It was not till four years after this that John Cabot applied to Henry VII. for letters patent, and it was not till the year after that he sailed on his voyage. But there is a great difficulty in

*The Straits of Gibraltar.

determining the land first sighted by the Cabots. The Bristol record informs us that the land discovered by the Cabots was Newfoundland. But on a map dated 1599, given in the Hakluyt collection, it is expressly stated of the Labrador coast: "This land was discovered by John and Sebastian Cabot for King Henry VII.," and in the short narrative of de Ramusius, the land discovered by the Cabots is certainly Labrador.

But, on other and apparently more reliable maps, Cape Breton is marked as *Prima tierra vista*. How, amid these discordant testimonies, are we to determine where was Cabot's landfall. It is quite evident that the date assigned by de Ramusius, as given by Sebastian himself, was the date of the first voyage, yet the events narrated belong to the second. The latitude of Bristol is $51^{\circ}30'$, while the latitude of Quinsay, the most southerly city of Cathay, is 45° , very nearly the same parallel as Cape Breton. Just as Columbus directed his course from Spain due west from the Azores, and reached the West India islands on almost the same latitude as Cipango, which place he hoped to reach; so John Cabot directed his course by the south of Ireland, and then turned north apparently to get on the same parallel of latitude as Quinsay, and admitting a slight deviation of the compass, and the effect of the gulf stream, he would reach Cape Breton. We learn the direction of his course from letters written by Raimondo Sancino, envoy at the court of St. James, from the Duke of Milan, Ludivico Sforza. If Cabot had intended to go north he would scarcely have directed his course by the south coast of Ireland. On his second voyage John Cabot, for he was still the leading spirit of the movement, though Sebastian took the full credit to himself, sailed with a fleet of six vessels, fitted out and equipped at the king's expense; the *Mathew*, fitted out at Cabot's own expense, being apparently the sole vessel of the first expedition. The purpose of the second voyage was to find a northeast passage, and with this aim in view he went around the north of Ireland, and kept a northerly course, reaching the region of icebergs, and field ice, and of almost continuous daylight. When then he reached land on this second voyage it must have been pretty far north on the Labrador coast. The decision as to the first landfall of Cabot seems to lie between Newfoundland and Cape Breton. Dr. Sam. Dawson, in an able paper read before the Royal

Society of Canada, has we think proved beyond doubt that it was Cape Breton and not Newfoundland. The notice in the Bristol archives speaks of Newfoundland as the land first discovered by Cabot. But this notice seems to have been inserted at a later period. On the other hand on maps, said to be copies of earlier maps draughted by Sebastian Cabot himself, Cape Breton is distinctly marked as *Prima tierra vista*. But there was especially a map in the private gallery at Westminster, attributed to Sebastian Cabot, and engraved by Clements Adams: unfortunately this map has been lost, but Hakluyt saw it, and preserved some of its marginal notes, one of which is given as follows. "In the year 1497 John Cabot a Venetian, and Sebastian his son opened up this country," that is Cape Breton, "which no one had previously attempted to go to, upon the 24th of June early in the morning about five o'clock. Moreover he called this land *Terram primam vissam*—I believe because he first from seaward had set eyes upon that region, and as there is an island situated opposite he called it the Island of St. John, I think for the reason that it was discovered on St. John's day." Nearly all the subsequent maps represent an island lying directly opposite Cape Breton, and which was called St. John. In a map bearing date 1500 which was sent by the Spanish envoy at the court of St. James to Charles V. Cape Breton is clearly designated as *Cavo descubrieto* and again close to it *Mar descubrieto par Ingleses*. There can we think be little doubt that the point of the landfall of John Cabot was Cape Breton. There first on this continent was placed the English flag. But England did not retain possession of this land. France and Spain attracted by the rich fisheries settled along the coast, and it was only in 1758 that England, at the cost of many lives and much money, recovered possession of that first discovered land of Canada.

G. D. FERGUSON.

CO-OPERATION.

IN August, 1895, was held in London the first International Co-operative Congress. It was in many respects a most notable meeting, and afforded a great deal of interesting data, both for students of economic principles and for those who are interested in the social and economic problems of life.

A comparison of the co-operative congress with the socialist congress, held a year later, affords food for reflection. The socialist congress was composed largely of theorists, agitators and extremists, narrowly selfish in their purposes, widely straggling and unpruned in their ideas. Undisciplined by practical organization, without the chart of experience, and without the rudder of self-control, they were embarked with but a single resolve: to leave the routes of the present and set out in search of some mythical islands of the blessed, as to the nature of whose blessedness or as to whose latitude and longitude there was a hopeless diversity of opinion.

The International Co-operative Congress, on the contrary, was composed of men of practical experience, of social stability, and of moderate aspirations; advocating no merely sentimental or unbusinesslike philanthropy, but equally condemning selfishness; with faith in the ability of men of honesty, capacity and industry to greatly improve their lot by intelligent and prudent co-operation. They advocate no schemes of total regeneration, they look forward to no utopia where human nature has become inhuman. They take human nature, economic laws, social and political institutions as they find them. Their plans for social improvement are applicable only to the rational, stable, self-reliant classes of all social orders. They propose to better the condition of those who are fit for co-operation by a legitimate development of present practical conditions. While the socialists reproduced chaos in the attempt to organize their unpruned and undisciplined forces, the advocates of co-operation organized without the slightest difficulty in the most orderly and effective manner.

A full report of the proceedings of the Co-operative Congress has been lately published, containing the various papers, addresses, resolutions, daily discussions and special reports from different countries. The volume is a very mine of facts as to co-operation in its various forms and in different countries. It is also enlightening as to the aspirations and ideals of co-operators from all quarters.

As an indication that the movement is not a sectional one, but is interesting to all grades of society, it may be stated that the Congress was held under the presidency of the Right Hon. Earl Grey, and among the vice-presidents we note such names as the Marquis of Ripon, the Marquis of Dufferin and Ava, Earl Stamford, the Lord Bishop of Durham, Hon. T. A. Brassey, Lord Reay, the late Judge Hughes, Canon Holland and many other names well-known in England, as well as those of many distinguished foreigners.

Having referred to this interesting episode in the history of co-operation, we may now look into the nature and prospects of the movement itself. In the light of the world's experience in co-operation, what, we may ask, has come to be recognized as its legitimate sphere; what are its various forms and capacities, its possibilities and limitations?

In the first place we require to distinguish various types of successful co-operation. The most fundamental division is that between the distributive and productive sections. Distributive co-operation confines itself entirely to the work of selecting and buying goods, and placing these in the hands of consumers in the most direct and economic manner. The advantages sought are a better quality of goods and a large saving on what goes to the middle man. This is the department of co-operation which has been brought to the greatest degree of perfection in England, where over \$250,000,000 worth of goods are annually disposed of through co-operative societies. In consequence of this movement, the enterprising retailers in order to maintain their position have been compelled to follow the example of the co-operative stores, to organize the work of distribution on a much larger scale, with a capacity to handle vast quantities of goods at a minimum of expense and thus be able to sell at prices which will compare favourably with those of the co-operators. This is the idea

which is being developed in the magazine or department stores of America. The co-operators do not, however, aim at giving the most of their savings to the customers in the shape of reduced prices, but rather in the shape of profits to be distributed among the members of the co-operative society. The profits distributed of late have amounted to from twenty to twenty-five millions annually. This arrangement is necessary as an inducement to join the society. Customers outside of the organization do not therefore participate in the full benefits. So completely have the great co-operative societies in England and Scotland adhered to this idea, that their salesmen and other employees do not share in the division of profits except in so far as they belong to the society as co-operative purchasers. An effort is being made to get these societies to extend to their employees a share in the profits on the ground of their service, but hitherto without much show of success.

In co-operative production, on the other hand, the central feature is not the purchase of goods for the supply of wants, but the manufacture of goods, or the rendering of services, for the supply of a general market. Not saving on consumption, but profit on production is the great object here. This, we may see at a glance, is a wholly different region, with very different problems to face and special difficulties to meet. In the first place a very distinct organization is required. In distributive co-operation the central management may, with ordinary care and experience, purchase a great variety of goods from a great variety of producers, and find their customers practically assured in the body of co-operators. But in productive co-operation experience, skill, capital, and management are all tied down within the narrow lines of a specific department of production or service. Special qualities are here called for in the management, greater power and responsibility must lie with the executive. The risks of capital are greater, so also the difficulty of finding steady and profitable sale for the goods, involving great care and foresight in determining the quality and quantity of goods to be produced for the general market. This system, as tried in Great Britain, having to encounter so many difficulties in a lively and competitive market, has not proved very successful in the past, but with added experience, care in management, proceeding

slowly and as experience justified, it has, in some special lines, met with more promising success of late. In France, however, this side of co-operation has been more successful than elsewhere. As I shall attempt to show presently, there are special conditions in different countries favouring or hindering certain types of co-operation.

On the side of production we observe several different phases of co-operation, each suited to special circumstances, social or economic. First, we have the type known as profit-sharing. This, in its simplest form, means that the employees of an industrial establishment are paid regular market wages, but that in addition to this a certain percentage or share of the net profits is distributed to them as a bonus, usually in proportion to their wages. In this type the business is completely owned and managed by the employer. The employees, while encouraged to take a special interest in the business, and to expect a share of the returns, are not in any other way tied to the establishment. An extension of this principle, which seeks to give the employees a more permanent interest in the business for which they work, provides that the amount to be distributed from profits is not to be paid over in cash, but is to be added to the capital of the business, in the names of the different employees, and as soon as the sum credited to any employee amounts to the value of a share in the stock of the company, a share is issued to him. In virtue of that share, and to the extent of it, he is a partner in the business, and his voting power and influence in the management increase with his shares. This does, of course, give the workman a more personal interest in the business, but if he wishes to sever his connection with it at any time, he has practically to sell his shares also. Even in such cases as the latter, however, the bulk of the capital is supplied by the original owners, who still control the management. Another form of organization is that in which the capitalist supplies the capital and management, and the labourers supply the work ; but instead of the labourers being paid a definite wage and then participating in the net surplus, in this case the capitalist is guaranteed a certain fixed percentage on his capital and a certain salary for management. From the net profit remaining is first paid the wages of the workmen up to a certain

scale, after which capital and labour share in any surplus remaining, according to arrangement. Special provision may be made for the extension of capital. But the most complete and independent form of all is that in which the workmen themselves organize for co-operative production, they supplying the capital, management and labour, reaping all benefit and bearing all loss. Experience shows that this is the most difficult kind of organization to maintain and most frequently comes to grief. Even in France, where it has been most successful, there have been many failures to record, and it is found to be practicable only among the higher grades of workmen. Three typical French co-operative societies of this kind are engaged, one in lithographic work, another in house painting and decorating, and the other in upholstery. They are centred in Paris and find their customers chiefly among the wealthy classes and the State Departments. Where men and conditions can be found favourable to its existence it is certainly a highly satisfactory kind of co-operation.

We may now note some causes of failure and success, and some reasons why certain forms of co-operation naturally succeed best in certain countries. In the first place, it is observable that more or less permanent social conditions are required for the carrying on of successful co-operation on the side of production. A man may move from one town to another, or shift from one line of work to another, without in the slightest affecting his relations to a co-operative distributing society. Though he may live in quite different localities and produce quite different lines of goods, or render quite different services, yet he always wants much the same range of goods for consumption. At any rate his range of consumption, be it great or small, will nearly all come within the lines kept by a co-operative store. But a change of place or a change of employment breaks off the worker's connection with a co-operative productive establishment. Hence it is that co-operation in its typical forms can flourish only where there is a very stable and permanent social structure. This enables us to recognize in a measure why it is that co-operative production should take such firm root in a country like France, where the framework of society is very stable, where there is little shifting of population from one part of the country to another, or from one occupation to another. On the other hand, we recognize

that, owing to the freer social and economic movement in Britain, productive co-operation is less likely to be successful there, and that, owing to the still greater fluctuation in America, there should be so little attempt at anything of the kind here. Profit sharing, in its simplest form of a bonus on wages, is about the extent of the movement here. To suppose, however, that on this account Europe is more advanced in these matters than America would be a great mistake. Co-operation in Europe is largely a movement tending to find relief from restraints which are no longer felt in America. The very social and economic conditions which accompany such a stable structure of society as in France, for instance, give few opportunities for workmen and others in the wage class to rise to a higher and more independent sphere of life. Hence many men of quite superior capacity are always to be found in the lower economic classes, capable alike of feeling the bonds which tie them down, and of working their deliverance if given an outlet, or of becoming revolutionists of one kind or another, if denied any normal outlet. To men of this stamp co-operation does bring a means of realization, and conversely it is there that co-operation in its developed form finds men capable of working it. But in Britain, to a certain extent, and much more in America, to which many of the restless British come, the remarkable fluidity of population and business, as compared with Europe, affords many opportunities for trial and experiment in realization, enabling men of exceptional ability and character, and even some without the latter, to rise from humble beginnings to very great eminence. Looking at co-operation, then, as it invites us to look at it, as a means of giving an outlet to men of capacity who are tied down by a system which the individual alone cannot break through, we may say that the development of the American industrial system has already passed beyond the stage at which it could derive much assistance from the co-operative plans now working in Europe. When, then, Europeans deplore our seeming backwardness in this matter, we can only reply, that while we sympathize with their work and rejoice at their success, yet most of their plans are not for us, who have our own co-operative experiments going on on so large a scale that they are overlooked and we are supposed to have none at all. Difficulties we have, large and dangerous in proportion to our freedom, but

they are not to be removed by remedies which belong to a past stage of existence. As a further illustration of the difference between our economic conditions and those of Europe, we may take that other important phase of co-operation known as the people's banks. These banks have of late attracted a great deal of attention, and are writ large in the proceedings of the co-operative congress. People's banks have recently risen to importance in Germany and Italy. They flourish also in Belgium, and to a smaller extent in other European countries. At once the need and the opportunity for them are due to the crude organization of credit, and, consequently, primitive system of exchange and defective command over capital, which prevails through the greater part of even the most advanced countries on the continent of Europe. There an immense amount of economic energy lies dormant, especially among the middle and lower classes. To awaken it into life and make it available for its owners, as well as others, is the central object of the people's banks. Their principle should be familiar enough to Canadians, when once stated. It consists in collecting, by means of the deposit system, the small savings of farmers, tradesmen and artisans, into a joint fund, which is then available as loans to those who can make good use of it. Thus the talent which was formerly kept tied up in a napkin, or stowed away in a stocking, is put in a position to become useful for both its owner and employer. What was not sufficient for each one to employ as his own is large enough for several to employ when collected into one fund. Moreover, by making connection with the regular banking system of the country, and by proving the validity of their credit, these people's banks are able to draw from larger reservoirs, and thus greatly improve the productive powers of the country. Observe that this scheme does not profess to feed the hungry, to give employment to those out of work, or in any direct way give something to people who have nothing. It simply seeks to enable people who have something to make more effective use of it. But in doing that, behold! it feeds the hungry, employs the idle, and, quite generally, enables many who have nothing to acquire something, provided they care to do so.

But this is a condition of things, which, though new to the continent of Europe, is highly developed in other parts of the

world. It is a matured form of that system which, during the past century has changed the commercial area of Scotland from one of the poorest to one of the richest countries of the world. On this side of the Atlantic, where it has been long in process of growth and has been pushed to the very limit of safety—sometimes over it indeed—it has achieved even greater things. Without its organized system of credit, seizing and using as a lever every available shred of concrete capital, it is difficult to imagine how even a tithe of the progress of America could have been possible.

If we take a table of statistics, such as we may find in *The Economist*, showing the weekly returns from the world's banking centres, we may observe what a very large item metallic money and bank-notes make in the circulation of the continental countries of Europe, and what a comparatively small item the deposit business is. While if we turn to America, passing England as mid-way between, we shall find what a comparatively small item metallic money and bank-notes form in proportion to the deposits. Behind all this there lies a long story of slow, laborious, and wasteful because expensive methods in Europe, and of rapid, light, economic methods in America.

There are, it is true, and must inevitably be greater risks in America, but the saving and efficiency on the whole, render insignificant all the losses that occur. The loss in America is a loss of a mere fraction of a vast additional gain. Europe may not lose that fraction, it is true, but only because it never enjoyed that vast additional gain. A pauper cannot suffer bankruptcy.

If, then, we are once more reproached with being behind the times, because we have not made an effort to introduce co-operative banks, we can only answer that we are so far beyond that stage that they could be of almost no use to us. We may recognize very fully, however, that they have been, and are likely to be, of the greatest use in Europe, and we heartily wish them God speed.

Enough has been said, I think, to indicate that co-operation in America must be of quite a distinct type. But, in order to have an intelligent conception of what it may be, it is first of all necessary to know what is involved in our present co-operation. Understanding that, we are in a position to know in what direc-

tion it is possible to extend it, or in what parts it is necessary to restrict it.

The central idea in the highest form of co-operation is that every one should contribute the elements of capital, labour and management, and should receive a share for each from the joint product. But experience has shown us that, while joint control may to a limited extent be a good thing, yet joint management in the same field is nearly always a bad thing. In management all good and effective results come from concentration of responsibility and freedom of action within the limits of the function to be controlled. If the management cannot be trusted with that responsibility and freedom, then it is rotten at the heart and might as well be given up at once. The strength obtained by propping together a number of rotten timbers is only to be trusted to when circumstances are desperate. This criticism of joint management does not apply to organized management, which is simply an instance of division of function. In this case each one is responsible for his department to a higher authority until we reach the central management which may be one man, or a small number of men representing different aspects of the work. Experience teaches, then, that it is not expedient that every one who contributes capital or labour or both, should have a share in the management. As to whether he should have a voice in electing the manager, is a question impossible to answer in general terms. There are here two variable quantities to be considered, first the nature of the business; secondly the intelligence and character of the voters. In some lines of business it is quite feasible, in others it is not; in the case of some men it is feasible, in case of others it is not. Each case must be settled on its own merits. There need be no restriction, however, on the contribution of capital and labour. But in cases where both capital and labour are contributed should both go into one and the same enterprise? Co-operative schemes almost always assume that they should. Yet a great deal of the flexibility and efficiency of American business is due to the fact that they do not.

Observe that we have long passed the stage at which it was necessary that each man should enjoy the actual fruit of his own labour. A man may now work all his life producing articles not

one of which he ever uses. And yet he secures in return for his work a wide range of wants supplied, for himself and family, by means of goods and services extending over the whole habitable earth and navigable seas. Narrow indeed would have been their supply had men always insisted on getting everything they produced.

Is it any more necessary that a man's labour and capital should always be joined in the same industry? This is, indeed, a much more modern question.

Let us take a practical instance. A man may regard himself as a labourer only, in no sense a co-operator, but with interests antagonistic to capital. Yet he may have an account at a savings bank. He may belong and pay dues to a labour organization, which also keeps a bank account, and occasionally invests its accumulations. He may belong to some society of which life insurance is a feature, and be making payments on a life policy. Now, if all that man's savings were brought together and invested in the business in which he is employed, he would recognize himself, and be recognized by others as a co-operator, contributing both capital and labour, and drawing both interest or profit, and wages.

But, if his savings are mingled with those of all others in the common investment fund of the country, upon which a great part of the capital which employs him may depend, is he not still, to practically the same extent, a co-operator? Is not the co-operation which permits such an automatic and mutual support of capital, with corresponding flexibility and rapid adjustment of supply and demand, a far more advanced and perfect co-operation than that which ties down one's savings to employment by oneself, or at the most to personal and separate investment?

In modern industrial society everyone who is making deposits in savings banks, paying insurance policies, or contributing to societies whose joint funds are deposited or invested, is contributing to the working capital of the country, and is, to the extent of his holdings, a capitalist. The whole commercial network of the country is one vast co-operative society.

Further than that, here in America, where this kind of co-operation extends to all grades, in virtue of the flexibility and unprejudiced character of our credit system, it is virtually proclaimed

to everyone,—Prove your ability to use it well, and here are hundreds, thousands, millions at your disposal in one of two lines, either as managing and developing businesses already established, or in working up new businesses on an independent basis. But it is precisely to encourage the collection and deposit of savings in a shape available for trade, and to give a wider and freer outlet for men of industry and capacity that the productive co-operative movement is being fostered in Europe. Many people, however, cannot see the wood for the trees. Our co-operation is so universal, so atmospheric, that we seem to have none at all. Yet it is chiefly this co-operation of ours which makes the standard of living for all industrious classes so much higher in America than in Europe. It is possible for it to rise still higher, I am sure.

There is one form of co-operation, as I have already hinted, by which it is possible to improve the position of hired labour, and that is by profit sharing. This is spreading, slowly it is true, but surely, in America. It is, I believe, a fact of business experience, as well as in thorough accord with the ground principles of human nature, that the workman who is given a share in the profits of the business in addition to his wages, will, by added care, interest and diligence, more than earn the extra profit, and that it is an advantage, not only to the labourer himself, but to his employer, and to the whole community.

In the higher grades of service, also, by adding this feature to our present system America could secure in a still greater degree efficient service from all grades of talent. That talent, itself, is capable of much improvement. Education has still much to do for the commercial and upper classes of this country in enabling them to be even more efficient, not merely as men of business, but as well developed citizens, who will take a broader view of life in general, for the mystery of life is the study of man.

ADAM SHORTT.

LIGHTNING AND LIGHTNING RODS.

I. LIGHTNING.

WHEN Arago nearly half a century ago commenced writing his memoir upon *Thunder and Lightning*, he was warned by some persons that the subject had been utterly exhausted by Franklin and the physicists who followed up his researches. His own opinion was likewise that all the requisite elements would be found in works upon physics, and that it would be necessary merely to collect facts, "constant in their occurrence, definite in their features, and having well-marked distinctive characters," and to co-ordinate them according to the particular arrangement which suited his object. The attempt obliged him to look over many hundred volumes of transactions of academies and societies and a multitude of memoirs, narratives of voyages and travels, etc., generally to find the facts available for science disappointingly few. So far from finding the subject exhausted, he says "I consider that after all the pains which I have myself taken, the most to which I can pretend, is to have supplied for the future history of thunder and lightning a sort of 'canvas,' to be gradually filled up, by the arrangement in their appropriate places of the facts with which meteorology is still to be enriched."

The position of the modern physicist is not essentially different. The theory of lightning proposed by Franklin is so simple and generally satisfactory that many eminent authorities regard it as perfect, and Lightning Rod Conferences unanimously denounce any modification as heresy. But observation proves the theory too simple. The most varied and majestic of natural phenomena is not to be bound by a law which can be expressed in a single sentence. To vindicate its freedom, lightning occasionally dashes through a stone wall or tosses a church spire to the winds, when by the votes of Conferences it should have gone peaceably to earth by a copper conductor. The theory is correct, but it is not quite complete, and quite recently two different lines of investigation have contributed important additions : the

study of alternating currents of electricity and the discovery of electric waves. The practical application of alternating currents has led to a great advance in the theory of variable currents of all kinds, so that many quantities, which not so long ago were regarded merely as mathematical abstractions, have become very familiar as physical realities whose effects are pretty well known. The discovery of electric waves by Hertz in 1887 marked an epoch in the history of electricity, but it was almost effected simultaneously by Professor Lodge, who was studying the behaviour of lightning.

Satisfactory knowledge of the nature of lightning dates from 1752. Many persons had previously noticed the resemblance between the lightning flash and the electric spark, and had conjectured that the natural phenomenon was of the same nature as its laboratory miniature, but no proof was furnished until Franklin took up the problem. That acute physicist in his experiments with electricity observed that when a sharply pointed piece of metal connected to earth is presented to an electrified body, the body gradually loses its charge ; also, it is found impossible to charge a body which has a sharp metal point, as the charge escapes quickly from the point : in the dark this is rendered noticeable by the glow which surrounds the point. Franklin speaks of this* as " the wonderful effect of pointed bodies, both in *drawing off* and *throwing off* the electrical fire." This property of points, he saw, furnished him with a means of testing the character of lightning, and ultimately he was led to send up his famous kite. The kite carried a sharply pointed wire, which was attached to the string and projected some inches above the frame. To the lower end of the string was fastened a metal key, and the whole was held by a silk ribbon ; the kite was then floated into a thunder-cloud. When the string became wet with the rain electricity was easily collected at the lower end ; sparks were obtained, spirits set on fire, a Leyden jar charged, and all the experiments performed which had formerly been made with electricity obtained in the ordinary way. Franklin soon afterwards found that the clouds were charged sometimes with positive electricity, sometimes with negative, and the identification of lightning with the electric spark was complete.

*Letter to Peter Collinson, July 11, 1747.

Many physicists investigated the electricity of the atmosphere by similar methods and obtained large quantities of electricity. It was found that the air is almost always charged to a considerable extent, though the electrification is greatest in the neighbourhood of thunder-clouds. The electricity of the air in fine weather is generally positive, the amount increasing at greater heights, but it frequently changes, sometimes very suddenly, to negative; before or during a storm the changes are sometimes very rapid.

The cause of the electrification of the air is unknown. A great many guesses have been made, and probably most of the causes which have been suggested are operative, but the precise manner and extent of their respective operation are quite unknown. Some form of friction is, no doubt, generally, perhaps always, the cause; water spray or vapour is known to become electrified by friction with solid bodies, and water spray in the form of mist and fog is driven by the wind past solid bodies, such as rocks and trees. But whatever be the particular forms of friction, they are continually electrifying the air or the water vapour it contains. So long as governments imagine that their weather bureaus can publish accurate forecasts without information on any other points than the state of the weather and direction of the wind at a number of stations, of course no other observations can be made on a large scale. But it is gradually being realized that even correct weather prediction requires the fullest possible information of the state of the atmosphere in every respect, not only at the earth's surface, but at all attainable heights. It is to be hoped that it may soon be seen that this requires the electrical condition of the air to be as carefully recorded and studied as its temperature, motion, or hygrometric state. Many physicists have studied atmospheric electrification, but their observations have necessarily been limited to the places at which they could set up apparatus; while the electrification is so complex and variable that observations are of little use unless conducted on the scale of other atmospheric observations. If the elaborate machinery of the weather bureaus were systematically employed for the purpose, the causes of atmospheric electrification and the details of its connection with storms would quickly become manifest. There is abundant evidence of the effects of electricity upon clouds to justify the anticipation of most important practical results from

such observation. The fleecy cloud of steam issuing from a tea-kettle instantly assumes the dark, heavy appearance of a thunder-cloud when electricity is discharged into it. Electricity has a wonderful power of uniting the minute particles of water vapour into drops, and it does not seem improbable that after a long spell of dry weather the unusual quantity of electricity in the air may be the principal cause of thunder-showers.

Millions of minute particles of water unite to form a drop, and if the separate particles are charged the drop carries their combined charge. Electricity is thus continually carried from the air to earth by rain, snow and hail; and quite frequently rain-drops and hail-stones are so strongly charged as to emit little sparks as they strike the ground. Observers who have seen this at night have sometimes said that the rain-drops became luminous as they struck the ground, sometimes that the ground seemed covered with waves of fire. Sparks have also been taken from an umbrella upon which snow was falling. But it is when the atmospheric electricity becomes accumulated in clouds that electric phenomena are most manifest. Possibly the clouds being semi-conductors of electricity merely carry their charges down from the higher regions of the atmosphere. At any rate we find clouds charged to an enormous potential. As these float past objects on the surface of the earth, all objects projecting upwards become charged by induction with electricity of opposite sign. If any of the projecting objects have sufficiently sharp points, the tension is raised high enough to permit a silent discharge to take place from the points, which tends to neutralize the electricity of the cloud. A very great amount of electricity is thus continually discharged silently by trees and all natural pointed bodies, as well as by artificial lightning conductors. In the dark points acting in this way may be observed to glow, a phenomenon which has been most frequently observed upon the masts of ships at sea, because there it cannot escape notice: sailors call it St. Elmo's fire. The following description of this appearance, as observed in 1696*, is very curious:

"During the night the weather suddenly became exceedingly dark, accompanied with dreadful thunder and lightning. We saw about the ship more than thirty fires of St. Elmo. One in particular,

*From the *Memoires de Forbin*, quoted by Arago.

at the mainmast head, was more than a foot and a half high. I sent a sailor to fetch it down. When the man was aloft he called out that the flame made a noise like gunpowder fired after it has been wetted. I bade him take off the vane and come down, but he had hardly detached it from its place when the flame left it and placed itself on the end of the mast, from whence it could not be got off."

In Switzerland, in 1880, at dusk, during a thunderstorm, a whole forest was seen to become luminous just before each flash of lightning, and to become dark again at the instant of the discharge. Cæsar tells of a thunderstorm, during which "the iron heads of the javelins of the fifth legion appeared on fire."

But ordinarily the heavily charged clouds are too high to be readily discharged by pointed objects upon the earth. The tension rises until the resistance of the air is overcome and disruptive discharge takes place—lightning proper. The quantity of electricity discharged by a single flash is probably never very great, as a cloud is a poor conductor and a flash can represent the discharge of only a small portion—perhaps about a hundred square yards*—of cloud. But the energy expended is enormous; for a lightning flash may have any length from a quarter of a mile to four or five, or even ten, miles, and the energy of an average flash may therefore be estimated as that of a column of air, a hundred square yards in section and a mile long, strained to bursting tension. This is something like the energy expended by ten thousand horses in a second, and therefore, as a flash of lightning lasts less than the millionth of a second, it does work at approximately the same rate as ten thousand millions of horses. The quantity of electricity involved is comparatively trifling, being something like that which flows through an incandescent lamp in the hundredth of a second, so that the most important feature of lightning is the enormous display of energy.

The historical classification of lightning flashes, due to Arago, recognizes three kinds: (1) zig-zag, or forked lightning, which appears to consist of a very vivid, narrow, sharply defined line of light; (2) sheet lightning, in which the light spreads over an immense surface, but is not so intense; (3) globular lightning, characterized by a spherical shape, comparatively slow motion and considerable duration.

*This and the following numbers are those assumed by Lodge, *Lightning Conductors and Lightning Guards*. Chap. I.

The first is the destructive form of lightning ; it resembles the electric spark of the laboratory, following a narrow, generally crooked line, which it illuminates most vividly ; it is always accompanied by thunder. The path can be studied much better from a photograph as the extreme brilliancy of the flash and its almost infinitesimal duration prevent the eye from accurately observing the details. The main features are easily seen however : the path is very crooked—though never making sharp angles as artists sometimes represent it—and very frequently divides. Fifty years ago writers discussed the question whether forked lightning ever divides into more than two branches ; a beautiful photograph taken by Mr. Binden in 1888, and frequently published, shows three main flashes each with from twenty to fifty distinct branches of sufficient intensity to show on the photograph.

What then determines the path of a flash ? The resistance of the air is evidently one factor. If the tension has gradually risen to the breaking point, the path is prepared throughout its whole length before the flash occurs. The strain has been distributed throughout the whole volume of air and the resistance of the air breaks down all at once throughout the length of the flash. In each part of the path the break occurs where the air is weakest, and this depends upon a great many irregularities, such as the presence of dust or water vapour or local currents ; consequently the path is very irregular. When the tension has not risen gradually, as when a cloud near the earth is suddenly charged by a flash from a higher cloud, the circumstances are different. There is no time to prepare a path, and local conditions have less effect. The discharge is straighter and directed towards the nearest object on the earth ; it is called an impulsive rush.

But obviously the resistance of the air opposes branching and tends to make the whole discharge pass by the one path. The explanation of branching flashes must therefore be sought among the properties of electricity, and it is found in one which is of the greatest importance in the theory of alternating currents, self-induction. A current of electricity influences a magnet in its neighborhood, and is therefore said to be surrounded by a magnetic field. If the current is suddenly started the

magnetic field must be suddenly created, which requires work. There is thus greater resistance to a current suddenly starting than to one flowing steadily, just as greater resistance is encountered in starting a loaded waggon suddenly than in keeping it moving. In the case of the current this is called self-induction, in the case of the waggon it is called inertia. To a current starting with the suddenness of a flash of lightning, self-induction opposes a resistance frequently sufficient to divide or even completely shatter it.

In sparks produced in the laboratory the branching is always towards the negative end, the spark terminating in a single point at the positive end. Doubtless the same is true of lightning, so that if a flash is forked at the lower end the cloud above was positively charged and *vice versa*.

Objects upon the earth also affect very greatly the path of lightning, high and pointed objects contributing an easier path through the air for a certain distance. Hence trees or elevated metal objects generally form part of the path of the discharge. The effect of self-induction is still to prevent the whole of the discharge from taking the same path, so that in a forest many trees are sometimes struck simultaneously, and it has been noticed in vineyards that in a single flash every leaf over a large area seemed to have been struck.

The effects of lightning are very varied, and almost all have been imitated upon a small scale in the laboratory. When it strikes a dry, sandy soil tubes are frequently found running down several feet into the ground. These lightning tubes, or fulgurites, are hollow and lined with glass, they may have any diameter up to nearly an inch, and have been traced as far as thirty feet. The colour and nature of the walls depend upon the character of the soil. Similar tubes are made by sending a spark through pounded glass. The sudden expansion of moisture drives back the sand, and the heat produced fuses a thin shell of it.

The same explosive effect, due to the sudden evaporation of water, is frequently noticed when trees are struck by lightning, portions of the trunk being found torn into fibres by the sudden vaporization of the sap. Different kinds of trees and different parts differ greatly in the damage they sustain. The leaves and smaller branches are much better conductors than the larger

branches and trunk, and consequently suffer less damage. Poplars are also better conductors than other trees, so that the smaller branches of poplars are generally unhurt, while the trunk receives a gash in one side. Oaks and elms are often damaged to a greater extent, the whole tree being torn to pieces, and portions of the trunk splintered.

The explosive effect of a spark is well shown by a short piece of stout glass tube containing a drop of water. A spark passed through the water will burst the tube, although the ends are open. As the pressure of the expanding vapour is the same in all directions, and as the expansion is unopposed in the direction of the ends of the tube while opposed in other directions by the tube, it might be supposed that the expanding vapour would simply drive the air out of the open ends. But this ignores the inertia of the air. Air and water can so readily be set in motion by even a small force that it is easy to forget that they possess inertia at all. But everybody knows that water will flatten a bullet fired into it, and that even the rare atmosphere at great heights opposes to bodies moving with the velocity of meteorites sufficient resistance to vaporize them; while this experiment shows that to a sudden pressure a small mass of air opposes greater resistance than a glass tube. Suppose, then, a flash of lightning passes beside a stone wall: a column of air and water vapour expands, on one side it presses against the wall, on the other against the air, recollecting the enormous energy of the flash and its suddenness, it is not surprising that the resistance of the air sometimes exceeds the stability of the wall and the wall is thrown down. Numberless instances of such mechanical effects of lightning are on record, as the following:

"In January, 1762, lightning struck the steeple of the church of Breag, in Cornwall. The south-western pinnacle of masonry was shattered into a hundred pieces and totally demolished. One stone, weighing three cwt., was thrown over the roof of the church to the southward to a distance of sixty yards. Another stone was found 400 yards from the steeple, towards the north, and a third in a south-west direction."

"A small, brick building for holding a store of coals, with its upper part forming a cistern, was placed with its back against one of the walls of Mr. Chadwick's house at Swinton. Its own walls were

thirty-five inches thick, ten and a half feet high, and their foundations went down nearly a foot below the surface of the ground. On the 6th of August, 1809, in the afternoon, a terrible explosion was heard. . . . The external wall of the little building, forming the coal cellar and cistern, was torn from its foundations and lifted bodily. The explosion transported it upright, and without overturning it, to some distance from its original place. One of its extremities had moved nine feet and the other four feet. The wall thus lifted and removed consisted, without counting the mortar, of 7,000 bricks, and might weigh about twenty-five tons."

"In St. George's Church, Leicester, the rod of the vane conducted the flash half-way down the spire, where it blew a ring of stones out, and so dropped the top half of the spire neatly inside the bottom half, making a tremendous smash, carrying away all the floors of the tower, and beating in the foundation-arch."

Upon the bodies of persons struck by lightning are frequently found markings, of which the following is a typical description: a boy who had taken refuge under a tree during a thunder storm, was struck by lightning and on his body was found "a perfect image of the tree, the fibres, leaves and branches being represented with photographic accuracy." The substitution of "a tree" for "the tree" would probably make this statement approximately true. These lightning prints are not photographs of scenery but tracks of lightning itself as it spreads over the poorly conducting skin of the person struck. If a glass plate be interposed in the path of a spark in the laboratory, the spark spreads out over the plate in a figure which may be rendered visible by breathing on the glass or by using instead of plain glass a sensitive plate. The resemblance of these marks to trees is very striking, but their identification with trees in the neighborhood of the person struck is purely imaginary. The following story relates to an entirely different phenomenon:

"The number 44 in metal was attached to the fixed rigging between the mast and the cot of one of the sailors. The mast was struck and the sailor killed. On his left breast was found the number 44, well formed and perfectly identical with that on the rigging."

This phenomenon also can be reproduced in the laboratory. When the positive pole of an electrical machine exhibits a glow, pieces of wax or other insulating substance placed upon the negative pole produce non-luminous spots of the same shape upon the

positive pole. Under similar circumstances the discharge from a metallic "44" as negative pole would strike a region of the same shape upon the positive pole, the sailor.

Much more common than forked lightning is the form known as sheet lightning. Very generally this is simply the illumination of air or clouds by forked lightning which cannot itself be seen on account of intervening clouds or hills. In this case distant thunder is generally heard, but not always, for the flash may be so distant that the thunder is not audible. The following account by Professor Tyndall is a good example of this :

" Looking to the south and south-east from the Bel Alp, the play of silent lightning among the clouds and mountains is sometimes very wonderful. It may be seen palpitating for hours, with a barely appreciable interval between the thrills. Most of those who see it regard it as lightning without thunder—*Blitz ohne Donner, Wetterleuchten*, I have heard it named by German visitors. The Monte Generoso, overlooking the Lake of Lugano, is about fifty miles from the Bel Alp, as the crow flies. The two points are connected by telegraph ; and frequently when *Wetterleuchten*, as seen from the Bel Alp, was in full play, I have telegraphed to the proprietor of the Monte Generoso Hotel and learned, in every instance, that our silent lightning co-existed in time with a thunder-storm more or less terrific in upper Italy."

But sometimes, especially in summer, sheet lightning appears in such circumstances that it seems impossible to suppose it due to a hidden flash of forked lightning and is quite unaccompanied by thunder. It is then called summer lightning and seems to be really a silent discharge intermediate between ordinary lightning and the aurora.

Globular lightning is altogether different from the other kinds, and hitherto nothing bearing the least resemblance to it has been produced in the laboratory. It is also of comparatively rare occurrence, and, as some of the observations of it which have been recorded bear obvious traces of the work of the imagination, many persons have doubted its existence. But the instances recorded are too numerous and too well authenticated to be explained away as imaginary or regarded as optical delusions, however much influence the eye and the imagination may have had upon some of the stories as recorded. The following ac-

count* contains most of the common features of observations of globular lightning with the orthodox embellishments.

"After a rather loud thunderclap, but not immediately after it, the workman, a tailor by trade, being seated by his table finishing his meal, suddenly saw the chimney-board fall down as if overset by a slight gust of wind, and a globe of fire the size of a child's head come out quietly from the chimney and move slowly about the room at a small height above the tiles of the floor. The tailor said it looked like a good sized kitten rolled up in a ball, and moving without showing its paws. It was bright and shining rather than hot and burning; the man said he felt no sensation of heat. The globe came near his feet, like a young cat that wants to play and rub itself against its master's legs; but by moving his feet aside, and making various precautionary manœuvres—all done by his own account very gently,—he avoided the contact. It appears to have played for several seconds about the feet of the workman, who remained seated, his body bent over it, and examining it attentively. After having tried some excursions in different directions, but without leaving the middle of the room, it rose vertically to the height of the man's head; to avoid its touching his face he raised his body and threw himself back in his chair, still keeping the meteor in view. When it had risen three or four feet above the tiled floor the globe became a little elongated, and rising obliquely directed itself towards a hole pierced in the chimney three and a half feet above the mantle-shelf.

The hole had been made to allow a stovepipe, which the workman used in winter, to pass through; but, according to his own expression, 'the thunder could not see the hole, for it was covered by paper which had been pasted over it.' The globe of fire, however, went straight to the aperture, unpasted the paper without hurting it, and made its way into the chimney; then, said the witness, when it had just had time at the pace it was going, that is to say pretty slowly, to get to the top of the chimney, it made a dreadful explosion, which destroyed the upper part of the chimney and threw the fragments into the yard on the roofs of smaller buildings, which they broke through; happily no one was hurt."

It is to be hoped that the next man who has such an experi-

*Given by Arago from a communication to the French Academy of Sciences in 1852. In collecting materials for his *Essay on Thunder and Lightning* Arago seems to have searched every record which might conceivably furnish an account of lightning. He has thus brought together a collection of narratives from which most subsequent writers have been content to draw their illustrations. Many of the other quotations given here are also taken from his work.

ence will have a camera at hand. No photograph of a fireball seems yet to have been taken and a few would be very much appreciated. They could scarcely fail to throw some light on the phenomenon and might possibly suggest experiments which would reveal its nature.

To any one who understands the nature of sound there can be no question as to the cause of thunder. Sound is propagated through the air as a wave or series of waves of compression and rarification. Anything will produce sound which agitates the air sufficiently rapidly. Moving the hand to and fro does not produce sound, because the motion is not rapid enough to communicate its energy to the air; but the much smaller motion of a tuning fork or of the wings of certain insects is rapid enough to start waves in the air. Lightning expands the column of air through which it passes, and there can be no doubt that this expansion is sufficiently sudden to cause waves of great amplitude. It is true that this column of air immediately contracts as it cools, which corresponds to the conception of air rushing in to fill the vacuum caused by the lightning. But there can be little doubt that this contraction is very much slower than the expansion, and, consequently, much less effective in producing sound. There is no periodic motion, as in the case of a tuning fork, but simply one impulse, so that what is heard is not a musical note, but a crash. For this reason thunder, like the noise of artillery, cannot be heard at anything like the distance its intensity, as compared with that of musical notes generally studied, would indicate. The rolling is due to the difference of distance of different parts of the flash, the sound from nearer parts reaching the observer sooner than that from more distant ones.

N. R. CARMICHAEL.

PALESTINE BEFORE THE DAYS OF THE EXODUS.

WE KNOW to-day, what it was impossible at an earlier date to know, how favourable the general historical conditions were to the success of their invasion for the migrating hosts of Israel. Had the Hebrew tribes sought a lodgment in the plains of Canaan either a century sooner or a century later than they did, they would in all human probability have been shattered in the first case against the full power of Egypt at its height under the warlike Eighteenth Dynasty, while in the latter case they would have incurred the resentment of the rising Empire of Assyria, which under Shalmaneser I. had succeeded to the authority of the great Empire of the Hittites.

At the particular juncture when Israel appeared hovering upon the mountains of Moab and preparing to descend upon the cities of Canaan, the great powers were all away from the scene. Babylonians, Egyptians and Hittites, they had all successively fallen back exhausted, and left the tribes of Canaan to settle the superiority among themselves. In the absence of a foreign master the cities felt at liberty to indulge to the fullest every personal animosity aggravated by the bitterness added to hate by differences in politics, religion and race. Like Asia Minor, Palestine has been the meeting point from the earliest times of the most antagonistic elements of humanity. And when these forces were unchained by the withdrawal of the repressive influence of a foreign conqueror, there was left as the result of their blind animosity neither reason to concert measures nor reserve strength to make head against the shifting army that loomed over the Eastern frontier.

How incapable the Canaanites were of offering a resolute resistance to an invading though untrained body like the Hebrew tribes may be readily understood when we consider (*a*) their previous political dependence and (*b*) their lack of racial unity.

(*a*) Their previous political training was Semitic. The Semite has none of that organizing power that the Aryan has, especially

in the Roman and Teutonic branches. The largest aggregate that has meaning for him is the idea of a city—that of country is foreign to his notions. There have been at various periods Semitic Empires but such were not organisms. There was no natural cohesion in them. As soon as the conquerer died, or the dynasty fell, the nation vanished, leaving the city state only to claim the love and loyalty of its fellow citizens.

Now from the earliest historical period, whether of Hebrew or cuneiform Assyrian record, we find on Palestine the imprint of Semitism, which will always leave it powerless to resist an invader, owing to its lack of unifying power. Why it was that the Babylonian Empire so early took possession of Palestine, a country so remote from the centre of its power, and whose retention cost it so much war and bloodshed is readily understood when we reflect that war was not undertaken in those days so much for glory as for wealth, and possession of the highways of trade. We may be sure, therefore, that as soon as the Semites from their home around Charran decided to move south to overthrow the Mongolian civilization of Shinar and Accad, they likewise moved westward to the Mediterranean to secure command of what they prized most, the land stretches of that trade whose water stretches in the far west were in the hands of the Phœnicians.

When history first opens we find the Semite side by side, both in Mesopotamia and on the Mediterranean, with the races he had overthrown. Shargon Sharali, the first of the great Mesopotamian conquerors, captured Babylon and Kish in 3800 B.C., and then extended his kingdom to Syria and Cyprus. Four times, according to the Babylonian records, did he march to the "land of the Amorites." He erected a statue on the seacoast facing Cyprus commemorative of his deeds. If he, himself, did not cross to Cyprus, his son and successor, Naram-Sin, did; for among the finds of General Di Cesnola was a cylinder belonging to one who styled himself a worshipper of the "deified Naram-Sin." There was thus established from the earliest historical period that political supremacy of Mesopotamia that left the cuneiform script and Babylonian language a legacy to Syria. So thoroughly was Syria semitised in culture and population during the long ages it was subjected to Mesopotamian rule, that

even the Hittite and Egyptian conquests left its Semitic character unaffected. This is proved to us in the most unmistakeable manner by the recent recovery by Prof. Petrie at Tel-El-Amarna of the correspondence that passed between the great warriors of the 18th Egyptian Dynasty, Tothmes III. and Khunaten, on the one side, and their military governors in Palestine on the other. Though after driving out the Hyksos, the powerful kings of the Eighteenth Dynasty kept up a war of revenge on Palestine for two hundred years, and even carried their victorious arms to the Euphrates, so little impression had the Egyptians made on Canaan that with the death, or rather murder, of Khunaten, the heretic king, last of the 18th Dynasty, the supremacy of Egypt passed away like a mist. While every other influence was evanescent, that of the Semitism impressed by early Babylonia remained. When in the 19th Dynasty Egypt again sent armies against Palestine, it was no longer to wage a war of revenge against the Canaanites, or to gain the glory of extended dominion, but for the purpose of keeping back the Hittites from the northern frontiers of the Nile valley. Even in the days of the warlike Tothmes III., of the 18th Dynasty, 1503-1449, these Hittites were settled north of the Amanus range of mountains, with the centre of their power in Cappadocia and Northern Cilicia. How long their power continued in the north, between the Aegean and the Caspian, may be inferred from the fact that the Hattu are mentioned in the "Table of Omens" as overcome by Shargon I. the Great, 3800, and they only vanish altogether from the stage of history with their complete defeat at Carchemish, 717 B.C. The Hittite power was quite the peer of Egypt. Its culture was transmitted to Cyprus and made its way into Egypt. Cypriote inscriptions, which are mere modifications of the Hittite tongue, are to be found in the pyramid of Usertasen II., 2682-2660 B.C.

As in the case of Egyptian culture the influence of the Hittite culture passed away before the richer civilization of Babylon. The grasp laid by Babylon on Palestine was never relaxed. However the supremacy might shift from one Mesopotamian state to another, from Uruk to Nippur or Lagash or Agade, that central power was always respected on the Mediterranean. Semitic, Elamite, Kassite Dynasties alike prized the rare productions of the Syrian

Coast and valued at their proper worth those commercial routes that brought wealth to the empire and with that wealth, power and splendour.

In 3500 B.C. Gudea, priest-king of Lagash, fought with Elam, brought cedars from Lebanon, alabaster from Phoenicia, gold dust and diorite statues from Magan, that is, Midian or the peninsula of Sinai, for the embellishment, with rare stones and wood, of the temples of the gods; and in the 14th chapter of Genesis, where the writer evidently bases his statements on cuneiform records, we are told how Kudurlaomer, King of Elam, with Amraphel, King of Shinar, and two other kings, proceeds westward in the days of Abraham to chastise five kings of Eastern Palestine who had revolted. The route pursued by them was that taken by the Babylonians for centuries before Abraham was born, entering Syria at the north, crossing the Jordan at Jericho to the east of the Dead Sea, the same line of travel taken by the Israelites when they moved up from Sinai. On the bricks of Eri-Aku he styles his father Kudur-Mabug, "the father of the Amorites," that is, Canaanites. Kudur-Mabug was an Elamite, and his name means in the language of Elam, "the servant of Mabug." Kudur Laomer is a word of the same form and would similarly mean "servant of the god Lagamar," one of the chief deities of the Elamite pantheon. The prominence here taken by Elamite rulers is in harmony with what we know of early Babylonian history, where the supremacy often passes from a native to a foreign race.

According to the cuneiform records, Eri-Aku, in whom some see the Arioch of Genesis, though backed by the full power of Elam, was overpowered and dethroned by Khammurabbi, whose reign is placed about 2200. He stands next in fame to the great Sargon, of Accad, who first, in 3800 B.C., wrested the supremacy from the Turanian stock. Under Khammurabbi the empire was consolidated as never before. Not only was he a great conqueror, following in the steps of Sargon, and carrying his arms to the Mediterranean, but he was a famous digger of canals and builder of temples. Under him occurred a great "literary revival." The increase of libraries and temples called for the use of those precious minerals and woods and varieties of stones which were not to be found in the Mesopotamian plains, and which must therefore come from the mountains and forests of Syria, which from the

earliest times furnished an inexhaustible store to Assyria and Babylon. Nebuchadnezzar was not by any means the first of a long line of Eastern conquerors who carried off rich booty from the West into the land of Shinar for "the house of his god." Three of the kings of this dynasty begin their names with Ham or Am. Many scholars, therefore, for this reason identify Amraphel, King of Shinar, that is Babylon, with a member of this dynasty. Hammurabi is the name that comes nearest in form to Amraphel. This implies to us that, in the days of the invasion of Palestine by Kudurlagamar, Elam overshadowed Babylon, and it was only after the expedition returned covered with defeat that Hammurabi (Amraphel) felt strong enough to break the power of the foreigner. Ammisatana, third in succession to Hammurabi, has left an inscription wherein he calls himself "king of the land *Martu*," that is the Amorite land, the Mediterranean coastland. Whether he used this title by inheritance or right of conquest, we can assert that in his time Babylonian politics and culture were supreme in Phœnicia and Palestine, and that the suzerainty of Palestine remained unchallenged until in the 18th Egyptian Dynasty Thothmes I., 1550 B.C., marched through Canaan on his way to attack Mesopotamia.

With the intrusion of the Egyptians and Hittites, the tendency to separateness of life became increased. The situation of the region, its geographical characteristics, its political and social environment, were such as to discourage continuity of historical development and unity of political life. The feeling of race connection is soon weakened by local separation. The mountainous character of the country isolates inhabitants and makes intercourse and common action difficult. Palestine at this period was the camping ground for every roving band that came along. All sorts of races lived together as best they could. For a time Egypt held nominal control. Later the Hittites ruled large parts of the country. When Israel arrived on the scene the power of the Hittites had been broken. The Hebrews possessed a vast advantage over the Canaanites, with whom they came into contact, in that they had a bond of union that the others lacked. They were able to assimilate the mixed population. The bond that united them was their religion. They became one people because they belonged to one God. These independent city

states complete in their isolation with laws, rulers and gods of their own, unconnected with other cities, except at their pleasure, were ill fitted to bear the strain of an assailant. Such a political system was a constant source of weakness, and explains how Canaan during the previous centuries had been so easily overpowered by external foes, and how it was possible for Israel to conquer the Canaanites, who were so much their superiors in material civilization.

(b) The lack of racial unity was of itself a cause of dissension and weakness. Nowhere, not even in France, was there a greater variety of ethnical types so easily to be distinguished from each other. Prof. G. A. Smith, in his recent *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, p. 57, etc., speaking of the present condition of Palestine, says: "The frequent differences of race in the Palestine of to-day must strike the most careless traveller." Within that contracted space we find Greeks, Latins, Druses, Arabs, Turks, Jews, and many other varieties of extreme diversity. In this medley of nations some are found only in the mountains, others only in the plains. "How much taller and whiter and nobler are the Druses of Carmel than the fellahin of the plain at their feet." "Palestine, formed as it is and surrounded as it is, is emphatically a land of tribes."

As it is to-day, so it has been for many ages. The Amorites of the mountain were and are clearly distinguishable by even the most casual observer from the Canaanites of the plains. In the Druse of the Hauran, that district that lay east of Jordan and north of Moab, we see a lineal descendant of Og, King of Bashan, or one of his great train.

It is only within a comparatively short period that any special attention has been given to the ethnology of Palestine among the other subjects of interest to the student. Since Professor Petrie, however, drew attention to the high value of a study of the ethnological types represented on the monuments of Egypt for the student of Egyptian history, it has been found that the hundreds of photographs taken by him were capable of adding much to the more accurate study of the races of Palestine as well.

Thus many expressions that had little or no meaning or only a rhetorical value to the Bible student of former days, have now a plain and natural meaning, and express mere matter of fact

knowledge. Those sons of Anakim which the spies of Israel found so formidable were not the monsters depicted by the imagination of some faithful teacher bent on making a due impression on the youthful mind, but members of that blond stock of the Amorites, before whose brothers in blood, the Kelto-Germans, Cæsar's legions trembled and made their wills. Amorites of the mountains, Canaanites of the plains, mean to us not only different varieties of humanity but also different stages of civilization—all the characteristics that separate the herder of cattle from the tiller of the field.

Of the many tribal varieties that are mentioned in the Old Testament writings, some denote larger and others smaller groups, some denote the genus, others the species.

Of the different race elements, the earliest and one of the most powerful was that of the Amorites. This is the first stratum of population apparently to settle in Palestine, the primitive stock of the land. We know their physical appearance from the paintings of Egypt. They were blondes, with blue eyes and light hair and massive limbs, allied to the blonde Berbers of the mountains of North Africa, and similar in their general appearance to the Kelto-German race. Wherever this race appears, there are also to be found cromlechs and dolmens, memorials of the stone age. It was a mountain race of inferior culture, dating its origin from the age of stone. It probably originally stretched from India to the Caucasus, and southwards from the Caucasus through Palestine and along the whole north of Africa through Spain and France to Britain. The fact that no traces of it are to be found in Egypt may be due to two causes. First, as a mountain race the climate of the Delta was unsuitable, and in the next place, as a people of low culture, it gave way before the superior civilization of Egypt. Its home is in the highlands of Palestine, not in the tilled lands which were occupied by the more cultured Canaanites. The first brunt of Hebrew invasion fell on the Amorites of the highlands. It was only by slow conquest that the lower ground, occupied by the more highly cultured Canaanites, was wrested from their occupants. In fact, all through their national history the Hebrews as a pastoral people outnumbered the native population only in the higher grounds, while the agricultural districts were always predominantly Canaan-

itish. The frequent lapses into idolatry on the part of Israel were largely due to the fact that so large a part of the nation consisted of unassimilated heathen tribes. The Canaanite persisted in the land, firstly, because of his superior civilization, and, secondly, because Israel had no desire for an agricultural life. We have in the geographical details of Chedorlaomer's campaign of Genesis, chap. xiv, a picture of Palestine East of the Jordan before the appearance of Israel on the scene. In the days of Abraham the earlier populations are in the land. Palestine, east of the Jordan, was then occupied by the Rephaim, Zuzim, Zam-Zummim, Horites, and other allied tribes, apparently of Mongolian stock. Subsequently, the Amorites pressed down from the north under Og, King of Bashan, and Sihon, King of the Amorites. It was because of their threatening attitude that the Moabites, Edomites and Ammorites, recently settled in their domains, welcomed the arrival of their kin, the Israelitish tribes, coming up from the south. As they, like themselves, were of Semitic blood, an alliance was easily effected, which at the same time secured the Eastern Semites in their seats, drove back and broke up the Amorite kingdoms of the north, established Gilead as a buffer state between the Amorites and Semites, and put the Israelites in possession of the fords of the Jordan, to gain which were it not for the good understanding between themselves and their kin, they would otherwise have required to fight.

Another Ethnical stock largely confined to Eastern Palestine was of Mongolian origin. It played but a subordinate part in the history of Palestine, and was overlaid by other more energetic races. As the Amorites were the primitive stock of western Palestine so were the Mongolian tribes of Horites, Zuzim Zamzumim, Rephaim, Emim, etc., the primitive stock of eastern Palestine. In the days of Abraham they were still in occupation of their seats. Between Abraham's time and the Hebrew invasion the Amorites pressed in on the north, and the Moabites with other Semitic tribes came in from the South. This Mongolian element was kin to the Accadian and Sumerian tribes, also of Mongolian origin, who founded the civilization of Mesopotamia which was seized by the Semites about 4000 B.C. To this powerful stock, which seems in prehistoric times to have occupied the whole of southern Asia, belonged also the Hittite

and Elamite races, and some ethnologists see in the hated Hyksos that occupied Egypt for so many centuries the furthest wave of that great Mongolian flood which propelled from the north so many invading hosts, Elamites, Hittites and Naharinities.

To these Non-Semitic Amorites and Mongolians, doubtless shepherds, and therefore occupying the more broken ground, succeeded about 4,000 B.C. a Semitic wave of immigrants who in contact with Sumerian civilization had adopted agriculture and the higher civilization and ambitions it entails. This Semitic power had its centre at Charran, Abraham's halting place on his way from Ur to Palestine. One division of the Semites poured down south and east to overthrow Sumer and Accad. The other division moved west along the immemorial route through the defiles of Lebanon to reach the sea. This Semitic conquest established the long rule and religious and literary influence of Babylonia, which continued with the capital of the empire shifting now to Susa, now to Babylon and now to Nineveh. There are two directions by which Semitic races might enter Palestine. As a fact of history the Semites of Babylonia have always come in by the north, all other Semites by the south as was the case with the Israelites and their kin, Edomites, Moabites and Ammonites. Tradition tells us that the Phoenicians were a maritime tribe transferred because of their seafaring habits from the Persian Gulf to the coast of Palestine. The great probability, however, is that the naval aptitudes of the Phoenicians were due to their environment. No specially gifted tribe was settled along that barren shore. Whoever occupied that shore must in the nature of things starve or scour the sea for a living. Hence from the earliest time of occupancy the Phoenician was a fisherman and a trader. Cyprus to be seen on a clear day wooed him to spread his sails to the breeze. Rhodes within view of Cyprus was his next stage onward. From Rhodes the coast of Asia Minor lay spread before him, and the Cyclades were stepping stones to Continental and Peloponnesian Greece. Thousands of years before history takes note of Greece it had been exploited by the Phoenicians, it and the whole western Mediterranean. The Phoenicians thus became the intermediaries between the east and the west, until such time as the nations of

the west sleeping longer because of the mightier task that awaited them, rose to self consciousness.

When the Semites of Mesopotamia poured into northern Palestine, those who settled on the coast became known to history in after days as Phoenicians, Sidonians or Tyrians. Such as decided for a maritime life occupied the coast from Carmel north because of the greater or less shelter afforded to ships. South of Carmel down to the gates of Egypt was a barren, harborless shore that for ages was unoccupied by any people until, in the 19th Dynasty, the Egyptians established the military colony of the Philistines to make good their pretensions to the possession of Canaan. From their clear-cut handsome features as represented in the Egyptian monuments, the claim seems good that they were Greek mercenaries of Cretan origin hired to be a thorn in the side of rebellious Canaanites and Hebrews.

With the exception of the strip of Philistia, all between the sea and the mountains passed into the hands of the Canaanites. The movement of the Semitic Canaanites was from the sea inwards. As agriculturists and possessed of better arms and a richer civilization, they gradually pressed back the ruder Amorites from the plains to the higher ground in the interior. Here it is that we always find the Amorites, as, on the other hand, the Canaanite is found in the plain. Under all circumstances the Canaanite will be found there as child of the soil, for he alone is fitted to utilise its capabilities. It is the earlier and broken races that are found in the mountainous regions of the earth. As islands are the survivals of vanished continents, so are mountain races survivals of a stock that has been swept away by the more highly organized population of the plain. Thus generally in the hill countries the occupants, if not naturally of inferior qualities, are at least of ruder culture, members of the rearguard of civilization.

The Hebrews, when they crossed the Jordan, assailed Palestine in the rear, and thus had as opponents, not the better equipped and highly trained forces of the Canaanites, but the ruder civilization and hurried levies of the Amorites. Had the battle been in the plain against the cavalry and iron chariots of the Canaanites, there might have been a different issue. As a historical fact we know that for long ages the Hebrews had to

satisfy themselves with the possession of the higher districts, for which their stage in civilization best fitted them, and it was only gradually that they extended their rule over the richer districts of the lowlands of Canaan.

The last ethnological element that on a large scale came in to modify the character of Palestinian population was the Hittite race. The representations given by themselves and by the Egyptians in sculptured rocks and paintings are strikingly similar. They are evidently Mongolian in race. They are depicted as squat in figure and stout-limbed. Their skin is yellow, hair black and straight, faces beardless, cheek bones high, nose stubby, and forehead and chin retreating. Their hair was always dressed in three plaits, a fashion that helps at once to identify them on the monuments. Travellers tell us that this fashion is still retained in some remote districts of Northern Syria. The mits on their hands, and boots with huge soles and turned-up toes like a snowshoe, imply a northern origin, which is actually the case.

Everything points to Cappadocia and the Taurus Mountains as their home, an inland and elevated region midway between the Black Sea and Mesopotamia. The centre of their power in the north was Boghaz Keui in Cappadocia, a meeting place of the great trading roads that thence rayed in all directions. Hence it was easy for the Hittites to reach the coast of the Aegean or the Cilician shores. Along these great routes marched the Hittite armies, and their civilization influenced in prehistoric times the course of culture among the Grecian tribes and gave origin to the Cypriote art and culture. The Hittite tribes seem to have been outlying branches of that great Mongolian stock whose brightest civilization was centered at Sumer and Accad. Separated from their brethren of Babylonian Sumer and Accad, now overpowered by Semitic invaders from Upper Mesopotamia, these Hittites concentrated themselves into a northern empire whose culture was derived from pre-Semitic Babylonia. Hence the surprise and doubt of those critics who find a difficulty in the presence of Hittites in southern Palestine in the days of Abraham is altogether ill-placed. The Hittite dates back to pre-historic times, and his contact with the Semites dates from the first appearance of the Semites. The necessities of trade or the possession of special qualities gave him a passport to

the most hostile races. Hence the presence in Palestine of Hittite settlers long before the advance of a Hittite conquering army ought to excite no special wonder. It was about 1450 B.C. that the Hittite Empire was driving down from the north, and threatening Palestine. Their hosts poured into the Amorite districts in Northern Palestine and drove out the Amorites, who in their turn moved into the region of the Hauran and Mount Gilead, where a century afterwards their dynasty was overthrown by an alliance of the Moabites and the host of Israel moving up from the desert—this alliance being the price of the peaceful possession of the fords of the Jordan.

The genius of the Hittites was of a military character. Though they occupied Northern Palestine for a century, they did not affect its civilization. They were unable to hold the Phœnician coast, or make any permanent impression on the Canaanitish cities. They fortified Kadesh as an intrenched camp, and made it the western focus of their power, as Carcemish was their eastern focus. As a mountain race they were most effective in mountain warfare, hence most successful against the Amorites. And as their civilization, while by no means despicable, was on a par with that of the Amorites, but much inferior to that of Canaanite cities inspired by Babylonian culture, the Hittites readily fused with the Amorites. Hence we find them associated in the same regions frequently with the Amorites. And thus the prophet Ezekiel, when referring (ch. xvi, v. 3,) to the origin of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, makes no mere rhetorical statement but an assertion true to history when he says, "thy father was an Amorite and thy mother a Hittite."

The presence of the Hittites added one more element of confusion to the elements already present in Palestine. Their most valuable function was that of preparing the way for the tribes of Israel. When the iniquity of the Amorites was quite full, and the Hebrews appeared on the scene to take possession of the land promised to their fathers, the work of conquest was more than half done already. The masterful and giant Amorites, driven from their chief seat of power on the heights of Lebanon, and sent flying in retreat through the mountain regions of the Hauran, Bashan, and the range of Gilead, are met as they move southward by a Semitic host of Ammonites, Edomites and

Moabites, headed by the tribes of Israel fresh from the desert and burning for conquest. Between the upper and the nether millstone the Amorites were crushed and vanished out of history. No wonder, when the Hebrews crossed the Jordan, that the tree-tops whispered of them, and that the terror of them went through all the land. The Israelites came as if they had been sent for. Such were the conditions antecedent and favorable to the invasion of the Israelites.

It has not been customary to regard the exodus in connection with other events of the same period, but with our larger view of the past, it is easy to see that the exodus was but the greatest among many great movements of the age expressive of the deep craving of the heart for a higher and less material life. Israel's contribution to the religious history of the time was the richer, because she saw the end to which she marched and was conscious of her mission and guidance. But God is in all history and in all upward strivings even if they are not clearly spiritual. In this thirteenth century of the exodus there was a rushing and rising tide of life everywhere over the face of the then existing world. Lifting the curtain of the past, we see in the west the tribes of Italy marching and counter-marching, Italy welding into unity her stubborn forces that she may rule the world, and Greece living her Heroic Age and just about emerging from her isolation to tell the world the dazzling splendours of her Mycenean Age. It is the century when Egypt reaches her climax under Rameses II., and having completed her mission in the birth of Israel begins her long decline. It is the century when the Hittites having from their western capital Kadesh checked Egypt and broken the Amorite power are crushed in their eastern capital by the rising power of Assyria under Shalmeneser I., a power which under a second Shalmeneser will have the mission of breaking down the regal authority of Israel. This is the century when the Vedic hymns are gathered into one collection, when historians of Indian literature tell us there was a great literary revival, when there breathed new religious impulses in the religious life and there were new movements in the political relations of India. This was, in fine, the century when the worship of the heaven assumed in China a new fervour, and an energetic national movement carried the Chinese into Corea, which thus became the bridge

by which the age-old civilization of China passed over to Japan and other islands of the Pacific. Such is the background against which stand out in bold relief the tribes of Israel, and such are the nations that sway in dim outline all unconsciously to the impulses of a mysterious power for which Israel alone has a name.

A. B. NICHOLSON.

JESU LOVER OF MY SOUL.

IN A METRE OF PRUDENTIUS.

Me care Jesu diligis,
 Da vivere in sinu tuo,
 Dum ventus ingruit mari
 Rotans volumina æquorum.
 Tutare, dum desæviat
 Hujus procella seculi,
 Dum me receptum denique
 Cælestis ancora alliget.

Est nulla præter te salus,
 De teque pendeo miser,
 Ne me relinque, sed mane
 Tutamen ac solatium.
 Nil auxili, spes nulla erit
 Salutis experti tuæ ;
 Caput hoc inerime tu fove
 Gallina ut alis pullulos.

Est larga apud te gratia
 Peccata cuncta quæ tegat ;
 Emanet unda, quæ lavet
 Purumque me servet mali.
 Vitæ perennis Christe fons,
 Hinc da sitim restinguere,
 Rigaque pectus hac meum
 In seculorum secula.

T. R. GLOVER.

CURRENT EVENTS.

THE echoes of the Jubilee are no longer in our ears, but they remain in the hearts of millions. The general reason is at work—it may be unconsciously—shaping those dim echoes and half-awakened thoughts into convictions, resolutions, aims and ideals, the fruit of which we shall see, soon or late; probably soon, for modern conditions favour greater rapidity of development than was possible in any previous stage of history. Last June the Empire became visible to the eyes of all men, and its unity, which had so long been ridiculed by “brass mouths and iron lungs,” stood out in dramatic splendour as a real living thing, capable of being converted into an effective force. That the Jubilee meant this above everything else was admitted by all competent observers, no matter what their race or language. A lingering remnant of the mechanical school mutters, “the Jubilee fever will soon die away.” No one heeds, for everyone recognizes that never was there anything less like “fever” than the great celebration. Universality and depth, calmness and spontaneity, were its characteristics everywhere. We are deeply grateful to Mr. Kipling for expressing in his *Recessional* the profound religious feelings with which the great heart of our world-wide Empire was filled, in presence of a spectacle which many feared would have awakened emotions of a more arrogant kind.

The Diamond Jubilee.
The Concert and Greece.

The European concert, though hampered by its jealousies, has done something. Turkish soldiers have been prevented from landing in Crete. Greece was saved from ruin by their intervention, though her king and politicians flouted their warnings, in the heady expectation that a bold game of bluff would not be “called.” But though Greece receives conquered Thessaly back again, with the exception of a few strategic points, her people are feeling sore from the crown of the head to the sole of the feet. No wonder. They have suffered grievously in blood, treasure and repute; while a dark cloud rests upon their future, which looked reasonably bright before they allowed secret societies to force the hands of their weak rulers. Now, they must eat their leek and learn the lessons of adversity. They may thus prove, what their friends still believe, (and they have still many friends,) that there is good stuff in them, in spite of their defeats and defects. If so, when the time comes for the definite settlement of the Eastern question,

they will fare better than is now expected, and probably better than Bulgaria, which has disgracefully thrown in its lot with the Sultan. If they submit to the necessity imposed on them of paying their debts, old as well as new, cultivate honest administration, make their civic service efficient and economical, and be satisfied with a small but well disciplined army, they will recover lost ground and secure a respect which the world never gives to bluster or bluff.

The marked feature of the European situation is the isolation of Germany and the commanding position to which Russia has attained, through her own diplomacy and the necessities and mistakes of her neighbours. The United States, Russia and Great Britain can afford to be isolated indefinitely. No one dreams of attacking either of the first two; and though a great continental coalition against the third is hinted at, we cannot take it seriously. It is not likely to materialize, and even if it did the parties to it being under no common bond would be sure to quarrel after either victory or defeat. These three then are the great permanent powers. There is scarcely another nation which can afford to be isolated, Germany perhaps least of all, in spite of her magnificent army. The change in the position of Germany is indeed significant. Not many years ago the Kaiser parted with the trusty old pilot, Bismarck, in an airy and top-lofty manner. He, the Lord's annointed, could be both captain and pilot. He could steer the unwieldy ship of State through all the shoals and intricacies of diplomacy, without any man's advice. He intended to be both Chief Justice and War Lord of Europe, and at the same time to secure great colonies and a navy equal to England's. He made no secret of his intentions. What, then, Germans may well ask, is the net result of his incessant talking and intermeddling? His two allies are practically of no account, should Germany be in danger;—for Austria-Hungary has made an agreement with Russia as to their respective shares of the sick man's property, when death takes place, and Italy has been crushed financially under the load which the alliance imposed upon her. On the other hand, Russia and France are allied, and with the enthusiastic assent of the people of both countries; and the alliance has no meaning unless there is an implied reference in it to a possible war with Germany; a war which would excite a madness of enthusiasm among both Frenchmen and Russians. Great Britain, which had always looked on Prussia and her allied States with the friendliest feelings, and which has so often assisted them with men and money, is now more eager for a quarrel with the Kaiser than with her bitterest traditional foe. Such is the result of the impetuous young man's well-meant efforts and speeches.

Were Prince Bismarck of a generous mind he would keep quiet at present. It is surely unnecessary for him to come out from his seclusion, for the purpose of pointing to the contrast between to-day and yesterday, and of calling out in his "brutal" manner and loudest tones "I told you so." It is too bad. The grim, old ex-chancellor, however, has never prided himself on his courtesy, and the German people has such a high regard for plain speech that it will excuse some absence of refinement, in order to have an authoritative statement of the essential facts of the case. The Kaiser is a puzzle to all men, except to Mr. Stead. He still has warm friends and he is evidently a man of considerable though ill-poised powers; but surely, when he looks at the mess he has made of foreign relations, at the discontent of his subjects and at his own personal unpopularity, so markedly in contrast with the veneration felt for his father and his grand-father, he himself might well come to the conclusion that he has been mistaken, and might resolve "to do otherwise" in the future. His best friends, if they have the liberty to give advice, might hint that it would become him to think less of his own omnipotence and to talk less about every subject under the sun.

Meanwhile, thoughtful Englishmen must not be led astray. They should never forget that so many ancient and sacred ties unite them to Germany that war is not to be thought of between the two peoples; that indeed it would be a crime against civilization, almost as great as a war with the United States; that the Kaiser and his reptile press are responsible for the ill-feeling that has been created, and that, after all, he is a young man who may take a thought and mend; and that at any rate before very long, he will have to change his course or find himself so utterly isolated at home that tall talk from him would be an absurdity. He will probably have business more pressing to attend to than the formation of chimerical combinations against the British empire. He has undone much of what was done to create united Germany between 1866 and 1871. Not only has he made Prussia more unpopular in South Germany than ever it was before, which is saying a great deal, but he has succeeded in exasperating loyal Prussia itself. His people have borne a good deal from him, but they are not in the mood to bear much more. Better far to allow them to settle matters with him, than for us to interfere and force such a people to choose tyranny at home in preference to humiliation abroad.

When Bismarck formed the Dreibund, and at the same time made a secret treaty with Russia, he effectually isolated France. One thing, however, was lacking. If Britain could only be coaxed or coerced into joining the Dreibund, it would then be complete. But British statesmen have learned that they re-

The Permanent Attitude
of Great Britain to
European Coalitions.

present not merely a European, but a world-Empire. Why should they antagonize either France or Russia? They refused, and here we have the origin of the persistent opposition to British policy which has ever since come from Berlin. Proposals from the opposite quarter are now being made. France and Russia are allied, and why—it is asked in whispers—should not Britain join the alliance and so make it irresistible, and at the same time secure revenge on Germany and immunity from threatened attack? The temptation is great, but let us hope that it will be rejected. Why should we antagonize Italy, Austria or Germany? We are friends of all and have work enough of our own to do in every quarter of the globe.

The uprising of turbulent and savagely fanatical tribes, in the grisly mountain passes which separate Afghanistan from India, against infidels, authority, peace and the monotonous of law, has been unduly magnified. It is merely an incident in the steady march of civilization against the forces of barbarism and anarchy.

The frontier war in North-Western India.

Whether Lord Lawrence's advice to let the mountaineers alone and keep them in good humour with presents, reserving our force in the plains to crush them, should they emerge from their fastnesses for plunder, or Lord Roberts' advice, to occupy all the passes with advanced posts and small garrisons, is the sounder policy, only the daily newspapers can say. Each tub stands on its own bottom. General principles are to be applied to concrete cases with reserve. When high authorities differ, there must be a good deal to be said on either side. At present events seems to justify the opinion of the wise administrator rather than of the brave general. A soldier is always for advancing. The cost never troubles him. He has not to provide the money; and he asks, to what better purpose can revenue be applied than to form a perfect fighting machine? The Duke of Cambridge was always laughed at when he said, as he used to say to all criticisms on the Horse Guards, "Give me more money, and I will guarantee you a better army," but his successor—Lord Wolseley—is now saying the very same thing to the British public. Mr. Bull, too, has found out that there is no other way of getting an irresistible fleet except the old-fashioned way of putting his hands deep into his capacious pockets. There is no other way of getting an army. The only question to be considered is,—what policy will most probably secure peace with honour and with the least possible expenditure on the army? and on this point Lord Lawrence's arguments were very strong. Those brave mountaineers, he said in effect, will endure anything but a master. A fort which they can see from their huts or eyries is a perpetual challenge. If weak, they laugh at it; if strong, it is

a menace to them and expensive to us. India is a poor country, and to wring one unnecessary rupee from its peasants is to endanger the basis of our rule far more surely than to have a somewhat turbulent frontier. Leave the tortoise in his shell, to use Oom Paul's simile; then, if he shove his head out far enough, you can easily give him the happy despatch. Every mile you advance from your base means enormous expenditure for transport and commissariat. Besides, if you leave the tribesmen alone, they will fight and loot among themselves and be anxious for your friendship; whereas, if you subjugate them, they will combine against you and be as ready to explode as a powder magazine. A rumour that you are engaged elsewhere, or have suffered defeat thousands of miles away, the intrigues of an Ameer of Afghanistan or of an enterprising Russian colonel, the preaching of a mad dervish, who counts life nothing when a verse of the Koran commanding the extermination of infidels takes possession of his brain and will, or the intolerable dullness of life among savage rocks, without the old delights of war and plunder, will be spark sufficient at the right moment to set the mountains and valleys in a blaze. Of course, Lord Roberts advanced strong arguments on the other side, and they prevailed with Lord Salisbury's government. Now, there is nothing for it but to reconquer the posts and punish the assailants. The punishment will cost us heavily and be to them of as little account as Aunt Ophelia's whippings were to Topsy. We will not exterminate them, nor hurt their women and children. All that we can do is to burn their villages, and these can be rebuilt in a week. The whole of them put together would not cost as much as a battery or a gunboat. We may be able to disarm some tribesmen, but every man is as certain to get a good gun again as he is to get his breakfast. He may consent to fast, to starve, or even to work; but, consent to live without the best rifle that can be had, he will not.

Things are going well in British Africa, north, south, east and west. In his advance up the Nile, the Sirdar makes no mistake. Of course he is in constant communication with Lord Wolseley, who holds that nothing is so expensive as failure. Lord Roberts may be more popular with the army and the people, but I believe that Lord Wolseley is the right man in the right place. With Berber now in our hands, a rapid advance can be made either to take over Kassala or on Khartoum at any moment. Whether made this year or next will be determined by those who know the facts of the case. Meanwhile the railroad which is being pushed on from the East Coast to Uganda, will ensure effective control of the sources of the Nile. The waterway from Khartoum to the Victoria Nyanza will be cleared and Egypt will

then for the first time in history have full command of "the river which is her life," from its mouth to the great fountain head, which, when discovered, received the name of the Queen. In South Africa, all is quiet, thanks in measure to Sir Alfred Milner, though he does his work without advertising himself. What South Africa needs, above everything else, is rest; and one would have more confidence in her getting that, if only Mr. Rhodes would recognize that his usefulness there is gone. He is a man of immense power and cannot be disregarded; but he will never be trusted either by the best Dutch and British elements at the Cape or by the Boers of the Orange Free State and the Transvaal. No better proof of his power to hypnotise the ablest men need be given than the extraordinary fact that Mr. Chamberlain, in summing up the debate in the House of Commons, on the findings of its Select Committee concerning the Raid, went out of his way to whitewash the man. He had deceived the High Commissioner and thus the Imperial Government; he had humbugged and deceived the Colonial Office and Mr. Chamberlain himself; he had deceived the Board of the Chartered Company whose agent he was; he had deceived his colleagues in the Cape Ministry; he had led Imperial officers like Sir Graham Bower into his conspiracy, so cunningly that they could not escape with honour; he allowed Dr. Jamieson and his companions to be thrown into Holloway gaol, while he—the prime mover of the raid—kept out of the way, on the preposterous pretence that he had gone to crush the rebellion of the Mashonas and Matabele. In the face of this terrible indictment which was proved by the Select Committee, Mr. Chamberlain, after successfully clearing himself, went on to say: "But as to one thing I am perfectly convinced, that, while the fault of Mr. Rhodes is about as great a fault as a politician or a statesman can commit, there has been nothing proved, and in my opinion, there exists nothing which affects Mr. Rhodes' personal position as a man of honour." What evil spirit entered the mind of the Colonial Secretary, inspiring an utterance which apparently indicates that there is a moral lack in his own make-up? Many looked forward to his some day becoming Prime Minister of Great Britain. But how can anyone be trusted to lead the Queen's Government, whose views regarding what a man of honour may do are so uncertain or rather so definite. Mr. Rhodes has not only pulled down hosts of smaller men in his fall, but has thus been the occasion of pulling down a greater man than himself; and Mr. Chamberlain has supplied foundation for the charge which his bitter enemies have often made,—that he requires to be watched.

The United States
and Cuba.

Fortune has smiled on Mr. McKinley's administration by giving good harvests in the United States, coincident with short crops almost everywhere else. "Dollar wheat" has put heart into the great producing class and led to improvement in transportation and other important lines of business. But, so far, the President has done nothing that his supporters promised, unless it can be said he promised the Dingley tariff, and the policy of inaction cannot be continued much longer. Cuba is likely to perplex his administration before long. Last year every Republican newspaper cried out against Mr. Cleveland for not interfering to stop the barbarous war which Gen. Weyler was carrying on, almost within sight of the Florida coast. Put McKinley in power, they cried, and all that will take end at once. But he has been in power now for the greater part of a year, and has done nothing except to send Gen. Woodford to say formally at St. Sebastian or Madrid what Mr. Cleveland said publicly in his message of Dec. 7, 1896, viz., that if the rebellion was not crushed soon, interference would be necessary. If Cuba had been near the coast of Cornwall, there would have been interference on the part of Great Britain before this. It is equally certain that, if Britain had owned Cuba, the United States would have taken "positive steps" long ago. What is keeping the President back? Is it consideration for Spanish pride, or is he beginning to realize that a war, even with Spain, would cost the United States dear; that it would disturb business, delay the arrival of the goddess "Prosperity," whose advent has been so long and so confidently promised, and also entail obligations with regard to Cuba more costly than war. Yet, he must do something for very shame's sake. There is enough moral force left in the Republican party to insist upon intervention, no matter what the consequences.

There are graver troubles before our good neighbours; social troubles arising from the greed and aggressiveness of capital and the false teaching that has long prevailed concerning the "right" of every man to have good wages, irrespective of his deserts, or of anything else. Wherever wealth alone distinguishes class from class, money represents all power and all honour. As long as the road to wealth is equally open to all, and everyone is well to do, this arouses no jealousy. But when society gets into such a stage that one far-seeing man or an iron-clad monopoly can rake in fabulous sums, while millions are doomed to long hours of work and starvation wages, the situation becomes entirely changed. The wealthy are then looked on with suspicion. Every tendency on their part to escape bearing a full share of public burdens, or to acquire what is known as a "pull" over municipalities and

Social dangers
in the
United States.

legislatures; or to repress popular movements with Winchesters, will excite irritation. In this condition of things wholesale murder under forms of law, or supposed attempts to enlist the churches or the courts on the side of wealth, or to capture the press, or to suppress free speech, will, before long, excite the masses in inflammable centres to the exploding point.

I remember the time when the average American had as little doubt of the stability of the Constitution of the United States as of that of the solar system. He is not so sure now. He used to jibe at Congress, but never at the Senate. He is not so proud of the Senate now. Its performances on silver, and on the McKinley, Wilson and Dingley tariffs, have disillusioned him. The one-eyed man can see sinister influences at work. In former times, he felt that the press could be depended on as the sure bulwark of liberty. Now, he is prone to ask, who is the millionaire behind the press? Then, he believed in the ministers of religion, pointing out with pride that a state establishment was not needed to ensure devoted service of God. Now, he views the Church with suspicion, and, perhaps, calls clergymen the "watch-dogs of the propertied classes." He made sacrifices for education, and honoured college presidents and professors. But even the universities—institutions whose freedom mediæval bishops and popes respected—are now tainted. He consequently feels that the very wells from which he must drink are being poisoned, and he is beginning to suspect that a vast conspiracy is on foot to pauperize and enslave him.

Who is to blame for the change? Not the rich only. In no other country in the world, in modern times, have rich men given money so freely as in the United States for every good cause. Hardly a city can be found without some striking monument and proof of their enterprise and liberality. But the law is absolute that "to whom much is given, of them shall much be required." Are the rich, then, free from blame? Are there not numerous evidences that wealth is used unscrupulously to promote selfish interests at the expense of the public welfare? Have not rich men allowed themselves to be blinded into forgetfulness that the necessary foundations of the Republic are intelligence and righteousness, and that there can be neither the one nor the other without full freedom of thought and freedom of speech? A Californian professor wrote last year that the President of Brown University would not be allowed to retain his position long, because his views on silver conflicted with the views of the rich. Men took that merely as one of the wild words of a political campaign, but when the thing was actually attempted this last summer, thoughtful men were stupefied. It looked as if the money power were becoming blinded. It may be asked, how can

anyone condemn the action of the Trustees of Brown, when the victory of bimetallism last year would have meant dishonest money. It is surely sufficient answer to say that it did not mean that to President Andrews; nor does it mean that to the men whom the President of the United States sent to Europe to "do something for silver" or arrange for bimetallism. The Corporation of Brown made no disguise of the reasons that determined them to squeeze the President out. His views did not suit rich men, and as long as he remained at the head of the University, it would not get their money. Of course then his plain duty was to resign. It never occurred to them that universities represent the spiritual side of man, and that when they are in bondage to the material, either to millionaires, ecclesiastics or political parties, they lose that for which they exist and might as well be swept out of existence altogether. Of course they can plead as an excuse that the emphasis which is nowadays attached to money gifts led them and indeed almost every one else to lose sight of the proper functions of Universities. But the marvel is that they did not see that they were sawing off the branch on which the rich sit. When labour suspects that capital is determined that there shall not be full and free discussion of the reasons which contribute to the manufacture of millionaires at the expense of the many, it will not be content with its lot. Such a suspicion would be more fatal to public security than the Lattimer atrocity. Fortunately, the remonstrance of the twenty-four professors and the protests of the graduates have caused the trustees to resile; but their attempt will not soon be forgotten. A similar attempt succeeded in Chicago. Naturally enough, the silver men are retaliating in Missouri. "Tell me the judge and I will tell you the law," said an old Highlander. Is it to be now, "Tell me who endowed the university, and I'll tell you the views of the professors?"

In British communities the executive government, which is simply a committee of Parliament, is responsible for all legislation. In the United States, Congress is responsible, according to the Constitution; but, in reality, no one seems to be responsible. The Speaker now decides absolutely what Bill shall pass the House; and in the Senate a small group of Senators, interested in iron, or wool, or sugar, or lumber, calmly declare that there shall be no tariff, unless their schedules are adopted. In the last stage of the Dingley Bill's passage, the evolutionary process advanced another step. Senator Elkins "slipped in" or "smuggled in" a clause to discriminate against the Canadian Pacific Railway, but which, strictly interpreted, went a great deal farther; and, so amended, the Bill passed. Only when a Collector of Customs acted ac-

The latest fashion
in legislation.

according to the law, did the intruded clause come into the light ; and puzzled importers appealed to the Attorney-General and asked what Congress had "intended." Of course, the Attorney-General should have answered that he had only to do with the words of the law ; but the clause being calculated to hurt important sections of the Republic much, as well as the C.P.R. little, he wrestled for weeks with it, and at last decided that it was only "verbiage." So, the Executive over-rides the Legislature, a thing abhorrent to the Constitution. The end may not be yet. For the clause may get into the courts, and judges will certainly interpret the language, instead of the intention, though the intention—it may be added—was precisely the same as the language. Senator Elkins, too, like Mr. Rhodes, declares that he will try again, but that next time he will try constitutionally and succeed. He may. But what a commentary the whole wretched business is on manners and morals in high places, as well as on the strange metamorphosis of a Constitution which only a generation ago was pronounced perfect !

The Dingley Bill hits hard the Georgian Bay lumber business, and therefore all the interests of the district. It discriminates in favour of the Americans who cut our logs to manufacture them in Michigan, and against the Americans and Canadians who have their mills in Ontario. The remedy is in the hands of the Provincial and Dominion Governments, and both must act promptly to guard our interests. Mr. Bertram has pointed out the policy for the Province. It has the power to make new regulations annually, all timber licenses expiring on the 30th April, and its duty is to require that all lumber which may be cut thereafter shall be manufactured in Ontario. It is said that the Government cannot interfere till the close of the present season. But, in justice to all parties, it should announce its policy in advance. All licensees should have time to lease old mills or establish new ones, so as to accommodate themselves to the proposed new regulation. This would be the right policy in almost any case ; and it is ten-fold so where white pine is concerned, the supply of which is so limited. We protect cotton and other industries, the raw material of which we have to import ; while, instead of caring for industries, in the raw material of which we may be said to have a corner, raw material too that can be converted into innumerable products, for all of which there are open markets, we see them struck down and hesitate about giving them a fair field !

The Dominion Government has also a plain duty to discharge in the premises. While the matter was under debate in Congress, it took power from Parliament to impose an export duty on logs, should the threatened high duty be imposed on sawn

lumber. That meant that it would use the power, if the high duty were imposed contrary to the compromise of 1890, or it simply meant bluff. Now, whatever other countries do, let us hope that no Canadian government shall ever stoop to that degrading game. Even if we lose by it, the Government must use the power it took. Every day's delay is a mistake. An export duty on logs is, besides, in our immediate as well as in our permanent interest; for should the Province act in the line suggested by Mr. Bertram, the Michigan licensees would at once increase their cut of logs, thus stripping us of an immense amount of valuable raw material, which no other country can supply.

The policy proposed is not only in our own interest, but in that of the people of the United States. The duty was imposed by Congress at the instance of a few mill owners, to put millions in their pockets by raising the price of all wood products to their people. It is not for us to assist them in playing such a game. The whole matter has been well threshed out, and, of course, something can be said on both sides; but the supreme point from which it should be regarded, is the dignity and honour of the country, from which its true interest can never be separated. If there are any industries, next to the agricultural, for which Nature has fitted Canada, they are those connected with the manufacture of wood; and there are vast districts where all other industries depend on these for their life-blood. To make our people merely cutters of logs, for another people to expend skilled labour on, is to doom those districts to stagnation, and to break faith with the settlers, traders, transportation companies, banks, and with all the numerous little industries that cluster round manufactures which are rooted in natural conditions.

G.

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PLATO'S STYLE AND METHOD.

I. PLATO'S STYLE. THE DIALOGUE.

AS no philosopher before Plato, and no philosopher since his day, has consistently chosen the dialogue as a vehicle of expression, it is natural to look for an explanation of this peculiarity in the general habits of the age. (a) The remark of Montaigne "*Nous ne sommes jamais chez nous*," "We are never at home," (*Essais*, Chap. III), applied by the essayist to humanity at large, may with a change of meaning be taken to describe the ordinary social life of Athens. The street, the forum, the gymnasium were the places where men most did congregate. The women were indoors. When Aristotle says that the characteristic of perfect friendship or love (*φιλία*) is equality (*ισότης*), meaning by equality an intimacy between men of equal and lofty intellectual and social attainments, and that the friendship of brothers, when of a noble kind, comes to resemble the friendship of comrades, (*Ethics*, VIII, 7, 9, and VIII, 14,) he is merely interpreting the prevailing Greek sentiment. A glance at the scene of any of Plato's dialogues is enough to show how small a part was played by the "home" in the daily life of Athens. The wits of the city drew together for a discussion of public affairs or for an intellectual combat, just as regularly and frequently as the youths took their exercise and bath.

Under such circumstances it would be a matter of surprise if conversation had not developed unusual keenness of edge; it

would be equally surprising if the substance of the conversation were not of a high order. Trivialities, commonplaces, scandal there were, no doubt, but the staple subject, amongst the nobler spirits at least, would be some public event or broad question of the hour. It was natural that Plato, growing up in this atmosphere, should have found the dialogue to be the most adequate instrument for the presentation of his theories, and have become a master of prose style.

(b) Not the home only, but also the study plays an unimportant part in Greek life. Even after Plato's time, when philosophy had become a separate training, and had begun to assume the form of continuous exposition, it was the debate of the school, which to some extent superseded the conversation of the gymnasium. Though the general, the statesman, the poet, in their distinctive capacities disappear in the school, and all stand upon the level of "lovers of the sight of truth," ideas were still moulded largely through the oral interchange of opinions. Just as the ordinary philosophical treatise of to-day reflects the process by which the writer, in the solitude of his study, organizes his conceptions, so Plato in his earlier dialogues reflects the sparkling variety of the gymnasium or market place, and in the later dialogues the more uniform discussions of the incipient school.

(c) That the talks of Socrates not only inspired Plato to devote himself to philosophy, but furnished him with the dialogue is manifest. More than that, the dialogue is already partly formed in the conversations of Socrates. But we have to turn to the spirit and manners of the time in order to find out why his conversations are his philosophy.

2. Conversational the dialogues of Plato certainly are, but it would be a mistake to infer from this fact that they were in form mere reproductions of the conversations of the street. In two ways they differ from ordinary intercourse, (a) in their substance, and (b) in their form. (a) Doubtless the conversation of the street was of an exceptionally high quality in Athens at Plato's time. But, if we are to judge from Aristophanes, the brilliancy and acuteness of mind visible in the usual street talk, was limited to the objects and events of the time, to the great war, for example, and the subsequent kaleidoscopic changes of government; but a consistent examination of a moral principle,

such as justice or temperance, or the consistent exploitation of such a theme as knowledge, was as complete a departure from the daily matter of Athenian gossip, as the life of Socrates was an exception to the usual civic life. The dialogue of Plato is, therefore, in its substance not a mere reproduction of the casual ebb and flow of public opinion, but an idealization of it, preserving and even refining its vivid nipping quality, but always concerning itself with the real problems of existence.

(b) In form the dialogue of Plato is more intimately connected with the conversation to be found in the Greek drama, than with that to be overheard in the market-place. Actual gatherings are more or less haphazard in time, place and personages; but in the drama the conversation is carried on by characters, as they are called, persons who constitute an organic network and, by the influence of one upon another, bring to completion the thought embodied in the action. In Plato, too, the characters have each a necessary part, and are selected because, by playing this part, they assist in chiselling into shape the definition. In fact, Plato, with a mind steeped in the drama, and captivated by the wonderful possibilities revealed in the method of Socrates, was driven towards the dialogue irresistibly, and it is in his case no more an external vehicle of expression than the form of Aristotle or Hegel is external to the matter with which he deals. Plato himself understood perfectly that the dialogue unlike casual conversation was a work of art. He compares the true discourse to a living creature having its own body, head and feet, with a beginning, middle and end, which must be agreeable to one another and to the whole. (*Phaedr.* 264.)

3. The connection of the dialogue with dramatic presentation gives us an interesting view of the digressions, freely interspersed throughout the dialogues. These interludes afford the author an opportunity to discuss a theme in easy amplitude, a habit which, as we may suppose, was more characteristic of Plato than it was of Socrates. The actual Socrates disliked long speeches, and kept strictly to the argument. "Invite Socrates to an argument," says Theodorus, "Invite a horseman to the open plain." But Plato with a more assured command of the subject permitted himself to digress. To many such as Theodorus the digressions, which have no direct counterpart in ordinary conversation, were

a relief from the strain of the argument, and in that respect, as well also as in their indirect connection with the main subject, resemble the chorus of Greek tragedy.

4. Dramatic is the term, therefore, which describes in general the style of Plato, or to use his own word, his method is that of dialectic. The term dialectic in its passage from current to philosophic use itself illustrates the difference between random converse and philosophic investigation. *Dialektos*, meaning at first merely a graver conversation and then a debate, discussion, argument or interchange of thought upon a definite topic, came to signify also the attainment of truth through the conflict of opinions and dispersion of inadequate conceptions. Further it was used by Plato as the name of the science gradually built up or evolved from the lower sciences, its object being the systematic presentation of the supreme reality or the absolute good. Although the term thus obtained a strictly philosophic sense, its current meanings were not dropped, and a happy union of them all is required for an understanding of Plato's style.

5. The following particulars will illustrate Plato's dramatic and dialectic style.

(a) His delicate preservation of the general atmosphere of the dialogue is a dramatic quality of great value. This quality is not only recognized at once in the richly comic scenes of the *Euthydemus*, where Euthydemus and his brother are not counted worthy of serious treatment, as well as in the tragic surroundings of the *Phaedo*, which are in keeping with the discussion contained in it upon the immortality of the soul, but also in more subtle and unobtrusive references, of which the *Theaetetus* furnishes a striking example. The closing sentences of the dialogue prove that the conversation, which it details, occurred during the trial of Socrates for heresy. This circumstance is in the course of the argument noticed so artlessly by three simple words, *ἀνὰρ καὶ νόν*, * that Jowett thought it unnecessary to translate them. It is only in works of a high order of genius that so keen a perception is expressed with such admirable simplicity and reserve. Again in the *Symposium*, at a banquet where Agathon

* "Often indeed, at other times as well as now, have I noticed how likely it is that those who spend much time in philosophic study will provoke laughter when they appear and make a speech at court," *Theac.* 172.

and Aristophanes have seats, the grave and the gay are skillfully combined. Indeed, Socrates, seated between the two poets, is made by Plato to drop the golden conception that "the genius of comedy was the same as that of tragedy" (*Sym.* 223), a conception, which justified Browning in putting into the mouth of Balaustion the hope that Aristophanes "re-ordinating outworn rule" would have

"Made Comedy and Tragedy combine,
Prove some new Both-yet-neither, all one bard,
Euripides with Aristophanes
Co-operant." *

Browning thinks that this conception was carried out by "the appointed fellow born thereto," namely, Shakespeare; but what Shakespeare carried out in the drama, Plato carried out in the *Symposium*, not only preserving with unsurpassed fineness of feeling the general tone of the picture, but inventing, and at the same time perfecting, a literary form of a highly complex kind.

Again, where in the region of satire is anything to be found superior in delicacy and precision of thrust to the speech put by Plato into the mouth of Aristophanes, when the poet is depicted as praising the good old times (*Sym.* 193, 194)? With astonishing reserve, Plato, through the speech of Socrates, hints a moment afterwards that Aristophanes in lauding the *tempus actum*, has placed emphasis upon the wrong idea, and adds that nothing but what is good should be the object of love (*Sym.* 205). The dialogue, neither in its tragic, comic nor satiric form, is adscititious to Plato's thought.

6. (b) A second feature of dramatic or artistic value in Plato is his furnishing incidentally a large mass of information concerning the private and public manners of the Greeks. From his works writers on antiquities have gathered facts concerning the domestic life of women, and their place in public esteem, the amusements and education of children, the condition of slaves, the various occupations of workmen, public amusements and festivals, private and public teachers, the distinction between artisans and soldiers, general social usages, the current popular estimate of prominent citizens, and the place occupied in the

* *Aristophanes' Apology*, 3440-3.

feeling of the people by the heroes and writers of the past. All these and many more facts of domestic and public life, to be picked up by any careful reader of Plato, show how wide and direct was his contact with the various activities of his age. These casual observations are quite different from his systematic philosophic theories of social and domestic life and education, to which, of course, no reference is here made. The common charge that he refused to consider facts, and built speculative castles in the air, falls to the ground of itself before the array of facts and even figures concerning not only Athenian life but Greek life as a whole, which can be drawn merely by way of pastime from his profound attempt to justify the ways of God to man and the world. Observers of society nestle inside of Plato as easily as historians and antiquarians nestle inside of Sir Walter Scott.

7. (c) Plato's perception of an individual's thought is so direct and penetrating that it includes even minute details of character and manners. The reader is interested at once in the beauty of Charmides as well as in his naive ideas of temperance, in the personal appearance of Theaetetus, in the bearing of Alcibiades, in the Doric accent of Cebes, and so on. Plato with the faculty of an artist sees the thinker when he sees the thought, and presents thinker and thought as an indivisible whole. The most conspicuous example of this side of Plato's style is, of course, Socrates, upon whose characteristics he dwells with a disciple's fondness. We have a remarkable portrait of Socrates in his modesty, personal appearance, manner of dress, way of talking, habit of standing lost in silent debate, quickness of hearing, vindication of his record as never *vino superatus*, endurance, courage, and amazing love of discourse. His general method is alluded to in many places. A noteworthy instance of his fineness of feeling occurs in the *Theaetetus*, when Socrates discovers that Theaetetus and himself have been unwarrantably using the very terms which they are seeking to define. "A skilled disputant," Socrates then remarks, "would have warned us away from these expressions, and chidden me in particular for my manner of arguing," a passage hard to equal as an illustration of scrupulous regard for another's feelings. This artistic attention to the personality and atmosphere of the individual, is another element in

Plato's greatness, the lack of which has often embittered philosophic controversy.

8. (d) The dialogues of Plato are dramatic or dialectic in that they reproduce by means of characters the various elements or strata of thought composing the consciousness of Athens at this time. The characters are not deprived of their value as individuals, but become representative individuals. They are thus rightly called "types," in the sense that their thought is a pronounced manifestation of thought at large. This is another note of the great writer, whose characters belong to the whole age, or, rather, to mankind, while the creations of minor writers, depending for their force upon oddities of expression, or exaggerations of some single emotion, have, like Hepzibah Pyncheon's chickens, an air of antiquity as soon as they come into being.

From the varied pageant of Greek life displayed in Plato's pages come three, if not four, different files of typical characters. First of all come such men as Cephalus, whose life has almost arrived at the "last scene of all," whose thought it would, therefore, be an impiety to unsettle, and Laches, who, though holding fast to the traditional ideas, was yet a fair mark for Socrates' critical shafts. Younger men also are of this company, Lysis Charmides, and Polemarchus, who may fairly be expected to respond to the new speculative impulse. Behind all these, and forming one body with them are Aristophanes, the antagonist of innovation and champion of the good old times, Anytus, who fears to speak evil of dignities, and Callicles, who, presenting the claims of the man of substance and honour who is well to do, thinks that philosophy is the pastime of children and fools. In the next main division are to be found sophists like Protagoras and Gorgias, worthy representatives of the new spirit of research, also their well-meaning disciples like Theodorus eager for knowledge, and, too, the younger brood of sophists, Polus, Thrasymachus, Euthydemus and the rest, showing the sophistic principles in a degenerate form. In the third division are Socrates himself, and his young disciples, Simmias, Cebes, Glaucon and Adeimantus, who have been swung from their moorings by sophistic criticism and are still grappling for some regulative principles of thought and conduct. In a fourth category must be placed Parmenides, Timaeus, Critias, the Athenian Stranger of

the *Laws*, and the Eleatic Stranger of the *Sophist* and *Statesman*, all of whom are at a stage, at which Plato has not only abandoned the earlier descriptive dialogue, but has entered a field of discussion wholly beyond the scope of Socratic thought.

9. (e) While different theories and opinions find expression in Plato through representative personalities, he reaches his own theory not by direct criticism of any inadequate views, but by gradually passing through every-day opinion and the doctrines of the Sophists. Thus in the *Republic* we have what corresponds to the scenes or stages in a Greek drama. The philosophic idea is ushered into our presence with such preparation as enables us to see how truly philosophic it is. This method has an educational value, to which Plato was not blind. Imbued with the genius of Socrates he was as far as possible from desiring to substitute for current opinion a philosophic dogma, believing that a certain habit of thinking was fully as important as its results. It is thus necessary to observe the strategy of Plato in his effort to bring the philosophic spirit home to the inquirer. By his dramatic handling of his subject he gradually leads the undaunted wayfarer into view of the sun of the supreme idea out of the dark cave of thoughtless custom.

II. PLATO'S METHOD.

10. The completed method of Plato may be said to be the method of his master, amplified and deepened by the growth of philosophy in the interval. Socrates impresses us as one who is machine-like in his almost incredible energy and endurance. No Indian ever followed the trail of his foe with more unerring and unrelaxed purpose than Socrates follows the argument. What serves to take the edge off and even exhaust the analytic capacity of Protagoras merely whets his appetite. Three times in one day he will repeat a long discussion and go away hoping that the next day will bring a similar diversion.

Socrates sought to expose by means of questioning the contradictions and inconsistencies involved in common opinion, and to prepare the way for a knowledge of adequate ideas. He was wiser, he said, than other men, as the oracle had declared, only because he knew that he knew nothing, while all others, though equally ignorant, believed that they had knowledge. His mission

was to instil into every one he met the blessed consciousness of ignorance, that they might hereafter have a desire for knowledge, and, even if they could not be said to know, at least be free from delusions. The deference, which he paid, or seemed to pay, to their opinion, had the effect of drawing them into a conversation. Like the silly fly of the nursery rhyme the unwary respondent is enticed by the irony of Socrates and quickly entangled in the web of his dialectic. This unexpected exposure of incapacity had different effects upon different temperaments. The timid enquirer, deprived of his usual habits of thought and coming suddenly to the brink of a void inane, fell back upon some less exacting discipline. The bolder advocate of the established ideas conceived a bitter aversion to the new-fangled teaching, and called to his assistance all the forces of religious and political conservatism. Only the resolute inquirer allowed himself to feel the full torture of the gad-fly of wonder or doubt, and like the wandering *Io* plunged forward sustained by the hope of reaching at the last some solid conception.

II. It is not to be wondered at that so large a portion of the Athenian public, following the lead of Aristophanes, should have classed Socrates with the Sophists. On knowledge and not on custom must be built law and morality, was his life-long contention. More than all the Sophists combined he woke men out of the sleep of custom. Socrates nevertheless belongs to another and different order of thinkers from the Sophists. While they, doubtful of the powers of reason, halted and gave way before the phalanxes of customary beliefs, Socrates never accepted a truce. Led on by the conviction that truth was a reality, he sought for it with unsurpassed singleness of purpose throughout his whole life. The easy way would have been to accept, as the Sophists did, a compromise with established ideas, and abandon the efforts to harmonize the inner reason with the social world; but Socrates, made of sterner material, was determined to measure the principles of a right life in measuring his own soul, and believed that in knowing himself, in placing his master-feeling clear, he was on the way to solve the riddle, if not of all existence, at least of morality and the state. It is true that his actual work was largely a clearing of the way, and that he left behind no system of thought or morality; but he never faltered in the belief

that knowledge was the one thing needful. While the Sophists accepted tradition as a serviceable substitute for reason, Socrates held on to reason to the end. Accordingly the real enemies of truth were not Socrates but the Sophists. Like the unskilled bird-catchers, who "captured the ring-dove when they wanted the pigeon", the Athenian people, in condemning Socrates to drink the cup of hemlock, had, through lack of insight into their true needs, failed to punish the real culprit.

The best excuse for Aristophanes and the Athenian people is that to Plato himself the real nature of the difference between Socrates and the Sophists, although he had long felt it, became clear only gradually. In none of his earliest dialogues, not even in the *Protagoras*, is a vital distinction between them drawn. Only when his thought has greatly matured does he enrich his method by an analysis and refutation of Sophistic doctrines. While the method of Socrates is chiefly a subtle attack upon cherished opinions, the full-grown method of Plato comprises, in addition, a dialectical removal of the theories of the Sophists followed by a positive interpretation of reality.

12. Thus Plato's method involves three stages, only the first of which is adequately illustrated in the method of Socrates. These three stages are firstly a criticism of ordinary opinion, secondly a criticism of Sophistic doctrine, and thirdly a positive account of reality. The *Theaetetus* exhibits these stages, although its constructive teaching is not so pronounced as is that of some later dialogues. (a) The question discussed in the *Theaetetus* is as to the nature of knowledge, and Theaetetus at first asserts that knowledge is the different sciences and arts, whatever, in fact, one may learn from Theodorus. Socrates soon convinces Theaetetus that he has not explained the point at issue, since in the reply it is taken for granted that we understand what is meant by knowledge of space, although we are still in the dark as to the nature of knowledge in general. Those, whose minds are governed by common opinion, when asked for the meaning of a term, are apt to give a number of instances or particulars. Plato elsewhere humourously refers to these separate elements as a swarm. "When I ask you, Meno, for one virtue, you present me with a swarm of them, just as though, when I ask you the nature of a bee, to carry on the figure, you tell me there are many kinds

of bees, although bees as bees do not differ from one another at all". As he says later in the same dialogue he is looking for the meaning of the whole, and is expected to understand it when it is frittered away into little pieces. What he seeks is knowledge in the universal, whole and sound, the *simile in multis*. Plato in this indirect way condemns common opinion as incapable of getting below superficial differences and of grasping their central truth. Separate objects appeal to our observation, and do not call for any conscious effort of inquiry. It is his aim to create the suspicion that direct contact with separate objects is not by itself the final office of consciousness. This suspicion becomes a deep self-mistrust, at least in the case of those who have any faculty of reflection, and at the same time the very foundations of the universe seem to them to be shaken. This wonder or doubt is the parent of thought, or as Plato has also put it, Iris is the daughter of Thaumás, and wonder is the beginning of philosophy. Roughly this stage in the method of Plato coincides with the work of Socrates, and is abundantly exemplified in the earlier dialogues. It is more than probable that even at this stage there are in Plato hints of ideas beyond even the imagination of Socrates. In the *Charmides*, for example, there is a delicacy of premonition which suggests the *Republic*. With less penetration than was possessed by Plato the criticism of common opinion would leave behind it a smarting sense of loss rather than a longing to know, and this difference, we may surmise, marked out Plato from Socrates at the very outset.

13. (b) Plato's main interest in the Sophists lay (1) in their method, which he called "Rhetoric," and (2) in what he thought to be the outcome of their teaching, that is to say, their "Sophistry." (1) The teachers of rhetoric, of whom Georgias, the Sophist, was the Nestor, professed to impart to young men the ability to make a telling speech upon any topic merely by the study of oratory. Plato contrasts this method with his own method of dialectic in point of both style and substance. As to style he contends that the oration is confused, and like the epitaph of Midas, the Phrygian, might be recited either backwards or forwards without any detriment to its meaning, while dialectic is an orderly development of the subject. He accuses the rhetorician, further, of assuming a complete acquaintance on the part of the auditors

with the topic of discourse. Dialectic, on the contrary, setting out from clear definition and proceeding by careful division or classification, exhibits the principle common to many different things and at the same time directs attention to their essential differences. But his main charge against rhetoric is that it is in substance a "flattery" or "enchantment," by means of which the multitude is persuaded of the finality of its present opinions. It is like the false art of cookery or tiring, which ministers to the mere pleasures of the body, and ignores its health. You can best persuade, thinks the rhetorician, by assuming the truth of the people's ideas, and then proceeding along the line of least resistance. Persuasion, not instruction, is the objective point; and by studying the notions of the multitude the rhetorician is able to persuade them to do evil instead of good. But Socrates, indelibly impressed with the ignorance of the many, is bent upon healing, if possible, this almost incurable cancer of the soul, and instead of offering them dishes and drinks of grateful flavour, uses the purge and the knife. Not soothed but chastised must the soul be, if it is ever to gain truth. While the orator uses the opinion of the multitude as the foundation of his argument, Socrates cares not how many may be of a mind different from his own; if necessary it is Socrates *contra mundum*. He cares only that the truth should be brought home to the person with whom he converses. When the difference between rhetoric and dialectic is pressed, it is discovered that the orator runs after probability, and says good-bye to truth, while the dialectician cannot be satisfied except by knowledge. The orator says what is pleasing to men, the dialectician seeks to say what may be acceptable to God. Hence rhetoric, on the side of its substance, is the false appearance (*Schein*, as Hegel would say), of which justice is the truth. It is "justice" which in this case is the truth of dialectic, since rhetoric naturally deals with practical affairs, and justice, as Plato states at length in the *Republic*, is the moral basis of the state. Dialectic has, of course, a theoretical as well as a practical side, but in its theoretical side it is opposed not to rhetoric but to Sophistry. (2) As to Sophistry the main stages of its development lie outside of the subject of this article. Plato sought to prove that the theoretical teaching of the Sophists led to scepticism. He does not argue that the Sophists were sceptics,

but that a negation of the reality of truth is the necessary and also the actual outcome of their views. That he does not accuse them of direct scepticism may be shown from the *Theaetetus*, where not Protagoras but a follower is interrogated, where, also, the connection of the theory that man is the measure of all things with the doctrine that sensible perception is knowledge is not attributed to Protagoras, but is an interpretation of his ideas. In the *Gorgias* Socrates criticizes Polus, a follower of Gorgias, much more severely than he criticizes his master. A similar line of treatment is pursued in the *Republic*, where Socrates deliberately turns his criticism away from Sophistic doctrines to the scepticism concealed in ordinary morality. Indeed, Plato, whose mistrust of the people had been growing and his annoyance at the Sophists correspondingly cooling, has in the *Republic* turned the edge of his attack directly upon the loose opinions of the people. After all, the people were the great Sophist, the weakness of the Sophists being that they were led by the fickle many instead of opposing their shallow thought.

14. (c) The third and final form of the dialectical method of Plato is reached only when he has propounded his theory of ideas. Though he is then a long distance away from conversation or even controversy, his method still bears traces of its origin. Conversation and controversy, as Plato thought of them, were a system of question and answer, intended to expose error in order to prepare for a statement of truth. In its last form dialectic is a colloquy not between persons but between ideas. Ideas, which seemed to be in their inner nature antagonistic to one another, such as "the one" and "the many", "the same" and "the other", were set face to face, and made to come to terms. By this process, illustrated at length in the *Parmenides* and elsewhere, contradictory ideas are found to contain one another. At the end of the argument the contradictions disappear, and harmony is reached. This unity of contradictories is the aim of dialectic. By means of this splendid and fertile principle Plato is enabled for the first time in the history of thought to reach a conception of the universe, which is at once scientific and religious. But this article has already too far crossed the line which separates the method of Plato from his philosophy.

S. W. DYDE,

HORT'S "THE CHRISTIAN ECCLESIA."

THE late Professor Hort is principally known to the theological world as the *collaborateur* of Dr. Westcott in their monumental edition of the Greek Testament. What the exact part done by Hort amounted to will not be known until the correspondence between Westcott and Hort is published, but it is not improbable that Hort's was the lion's share of the work.

It is some ten years ago since Rev. G. A. Schneider, Vice-Principal of Ridley Hall, told me that there were not a few in Cambridge who considered Hort more than the equal in scholarship of either Lightfoot or Westcott, and since his death Professor Sanday, in an article published in the *American Journal of Theology*, is inclined to place him at the head of English theologians of this century. It requires some temerity to differ from one so well qualified to judge as Dr. Sanday, but I do not think this is an opinion which is likely to be accepted by many. The world, at all events, must judge a man not by what he might under certain circumstances accomplish, but by what he actually does. Judged by this standard is it possible to consider Hort's investigations so considerable or so valuable as those of Lightfoot, or do his published writings contain such a wealth of profound and suggestive thought as those of Westcott?

But it is invidious to draw comparisons between three such illustrious names as those of Lightfoot, Westcott and Hort. They were truly fellow-labourers in the Gospel, and with one mind strove together for the Faith. Not even the Oxford movement with its picturesque friendships brought any of its promoters into such close and enduring fellowship as bound together these three fathers of English theology in the 19th century at Cambridge. When Lightfoot became Bishop of Durham, Westcott preached the consecration sermon in Westminster Abbey. When Lightfoot died Westcott became his successor in the see of Durham, and Hort preached the sermon in the same venerable church. On that occasion he said, "In commending

him to your prayers, I find my lips sealed by a sacred friendship of forty years from speaking as I might otherwise, perhaps, have desired to do." A friendship of forty years ! To how deep a unity of both spirit and mind does such a fact testify. And then he characterized the work of his beloved friend in language, reserved yet so eloquent with the eloquence of the simple truth, that albeit irrelevant to the present article I cannot forbear to quote it, as setting forth both the greatness of Westcott and an ideal which every young theologian may well set before him. "One who has laboured unceasingly to bring his countrymen face to face with the New Testament Scriptures ; one for whom Christian truth is the realm of light from which alone the dwellers on earth receive whatever power they have to read the riddle of the world aright ; one to whom the Christian society is almost as a watchword, and who hears in every social distress of the times a cry for the help which only a social interpretation of the Gospel can give."

During his lifetime Hort published but very little, principally because of the extreme cautiousness of his mind, and his desire to absolutely exhaust his subject before putting forth any definite opinions about it. Whilst this thoroughness and reticence might well be recommended to not a few of our dogmatic theologians, whose confidence is not seldom in inverse ratio to their knowledge, we think this was mistaken policy on the part of Hort. For we learn much from even the errors of a really great scholar. It is probable, too, that the difficulties in his style, which makes large demands upon the attention of the reader, had something to do with the paucity of his publications. But he left behind a considerable mass of manuscripts, and a devoted band of disciples are gathering together and editing such matter as they deem useful.

Of these works, the most important is a volume recently published by Macmillan under the title of "*The Christian Ecclesia ; a Course of Lectures on the Early History and Early Conceptions of the Ecclesia.*" It deals less with the history of the Ecclesia than with the conceptions of the Ecclesia which were entertained by the Evangelists and the Apostles. It was the author's intention to have supplemented this course of lectures by another in which the history and conceptions of the Ecclesia should be traced in the sub-apostolic

period. It is much to be regretted that he was not spared to complete his plan. And yet it cannot be doubted that we have the most important part of such an undertaking. It is singular that albeit so much has been written about the ministry, we cannot call to mind anything like an exhaustive discussion of the New Testament evidence. Texts have been collected and commented upon according to the views of the various authors, but Dr. Hort goes deeper than this. As the title of his book indicates it is a study not only of the history, nor of the ministry of the Church but of the conceptions of the Church that prevailed in the Apostolic age so far as these can be gathered from the New Testament.

Such an undertaking requires gifts of a high order. It is very easy quite unconsciously to read our own ideas into the words of Holy Scripture. The letter of Scripture does often lend itself to the support of conceptions which were born at a far later date. Nothing but a prolonged study of the New Testament, together with a close knowledge of the history of the various ideas about the Church that have sprung up under the influence of great writers from Cyprian down to Dr. Pusey, can justify anyone in assuming to speak with authority on such a subject. Added to this there must be, what is rarest of all, the absolutely impartial mind, the mind of the genuine scholar. It is the lack of this that has vitiated the writings of many able and good men. Apologies for any particular view of the ministry are at the present day out of date. There is no body of Christians that does or can exactly reproduce the Apostolic organization of the Church, or even the Apostolic conceptions. But a study of these questions by a really first-class student and author is of inestimable value, and is likely to have important practical results.

Dr. Hort possessed in the highest possible degree the necessary qualifications for this task. Of his learning something has already been said. Of his impartiality it is enough to say that he cannot be labelled as either of the High, Low or Broad School of Anglicanism. His extreme sensitiveness to the need of impartiality, and the difficulty of achieving it is shewn in the title of his book, and the reasons that led to its adoption. Rev. J. O. F. Murray, its editor, says in the Preface, "The title of 'Ecclesia' was chosen expressly

for its freedom from the distracting associations which have gathered round its more familiar synonyms." Dr. Hort himself says "the reason I have chosen the term *Ecclesia* is simply to avoid ambiguity. The English term *Church*, now the most familiar representative of *Ecclesia* to most of us, carries with it associations derived from the institutions and doctrines of later times, and thus cannot at present without a constant mental effort be made to convey the full and exact force which originally belonged to *Ecclesia*." After explaining why he could not have recourse to the word *Congregation*, Dr. Hort concludes, "*Ecclesia* is the only perfectly colourless word within our reach, carrying us back to the beginnings of Christian history, and enabling us in some degree to get behind words and names to the simple facts which they originally denoted."

Dr. Hort's method is extremely simple. He mainly follows the chronological order of the books of the New Testament, and comments upon all the passages which shed any ray of light upon either the history or the conceptions of the *Ecclesia* in that early period. Thus we have at the outset as a kind of introduction a discussion of the sense of the word in its Hebrew equivalents in the Old Testament. This naturally leads up to its use in the Gospels. The relationship of the Apostles to the *Ecclesia* is next made a subject of enquiry, followed by a description of the early stages in the growth of the *Ecclesia* as contained in the Acts. Here a considerable space is given to the subject of the *Ecclesia* at Antioch, and to the kind of authority that was exercised by the Apostles, St. James the brother of the Lord, and the Elders. St. Paul's discourse to the elders at Miletus naturally attracts attention, and then leaving the Acts, the author takes us step by step through an exceedingly close albeit condensed examination of the usage of the word *Ecclesia*, and of the various indications of offices or officers in the *Ecclesia* in the Epistles. The book concludes with some "Brief Notes on Various Epistles and Recapitulation."

In studying any book upon a subject which has been one of prolonged inquiry and much controversy, we cannot abstain from asking ourselves what is the author's object in writing. Is he going to defend this, that, or the other view? Is he, that is, no matter how apparently impartial, really an apologist for Bishops,

or for Presbyters, or of Congregationalism? Is he at bottom most concerned to contribute something to the refutation of Papal claims? Will he, no matter how subtly his hand may work in his material, choose and adapt his texts so as to support a foregone conclusion? Such are the methods of many writers. But we believe the day is past when a book however brilliant or learned, written with any such object can secure a place in the first rank of discussion. All respectable scholars now know that there is no completed ecclesiastical system in the New Testament. As Dr. Sanday has excellently written in the *Expositor*, "The inquiries which have of late been made into the early history of the Christian ministry seem to me to result in an eirenicon between the churches. The inquiries in question do I think stand in the way of aggressive partizanship. Our confessional differences are indeed reflected in primitive Christianity but not as mutually exclusive. They represent not conflicting and irreconcilable conceptions of the original constitution of the Church, but only successive stages in the growth of that constitution. The Church passed through a Congregational stage . . . it also passed through a Presbyterian stage . . . the main note of the eirenicon from both sides is the frank recognition of the relativity of all existing ecclesiastical politics." Similarly Dr. Hort writes concerning "the futility of endeavouring to make the Apostolic history into a set of authoritative precedents, to be rigorously copied without regard to time and place, thus turning the Gospel into a second Levitical Code. The Apostolic age is full of embodiments of purposes and principles of the most instructive kind, but the responsibility of choosing the means was left forever to the Ecclesia itself, and to each Ecclesia, guided by ancient precedent on the one hand, and adaptation to present and future needs on the other. The lesson-book of the Ecclesia, and of every Ecclesia, is not a law, but a history." (p. 232, 3.)

Dr. Hort's object then is primarily to set forth the stages in the history of the development of the Ecclesia. He wishes to trace out "the purposes and principles" of the Apostolic age. But after the most scrupulously impartial study of these things has been made, it is impossible not to compare the results arrived at, not only with the different organizations of the present, but with the prevalent ideas and conceptions

of the Christian Ecclesia. No doubt Dr. Hort made such comparisons, but with a marvellous self-restraint he has rigidly excluded them from this book. Yet in one short sentence which might easily be overlooked, he has indicated that one object of his study has been the "recovering for 'Church' the full breadth of its meaning," from which we may surely gather that in his opinion prevalent conceptions of the Church are lacking in breadth of meaning which the word and the thing possessed in the Apostolic age.

The word "Ecclesia" occurs only twice in the Synoptic Gospels. The first occurrence is in the famous passage "Thou art Peter; and upon this rock I will build my Church." Hort rejects the hypothesis that this is an interpolation. He also differs (herein again shewing his strict impartiality) from most Protestant commentators in accepting the most obvious interpretation that St. Peter himself is the rock, and "yet not exclusively St. Peter, but the other disciples of whom he was then the spokesman and interpreter." But, on the other hand, "it was no question here of an authority given to St. Peter; some other image than that of the ground under a foundation must have been chosen if that had been meant. Still less was it a question of an authority which should be transmitted by St. Peter and others. The whole was a matter of personal or individual qualifications and personal or individual work. The outburst of keenly perceptive pith had now at last shown St. Peter carrying with him the rest, to have the prime qualification for the task which his Lord contemplated for him." The second passage containing the word "Ecclesia," has also in a lesser degree been made famous by its use in supporting the authority of the Church over the individual. "Hear the Church" is a familiar exhortation, but it is almost certain that the Church here is the local congregation to which the injured person and the offender both belonged. (St. Matt. xviii, 17.)

It is natural that we should expect from Dr. Hort in connection with a study of the "Ecclesia" a full discussion of Our Lord's favourite expression "the kingdom of heaven". Some writers have seen in it no relation to the church, others have simply identified the two.

In both cases we believe the interpreters have been guided by prejudice. Dr. Hort, however, bestows but little space upon this question. He perceives that there must be some relationship between the "Ecclesia" and the "kingdom of heaven," for in the very next verse to that in which Our Lord speaks of building His Church, he adds "I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven." Yet a candid examination of all the passages wherein the latter phrase is used forbids its identification with the Ecclesia. "We may speak of the Ecclesia as the visible representation of the kingdom of God, or as the primary instrument of its sway, or under other analogous forms of language. But we are not justified in identifying the one with the other, so as to be able to apply directly to the Ecclesia whatever is said in the Gospels about the Kingdom of Heaven or of God" (p 19).

Concerning a very interesting chapter on the relation of the Apostles to the Ecclesia we can say but little. It is almost needless to remark that Hort does not make use of that unhistorical and altogether misleading and even mischievous expression "the College of the Apostles." Such words instantly beget in the mind of the reader a false conception, and it is Hort's aim to give us true conceptions of the Ecclesia. Very instructive is the examination of the meaning of the terms "disciples" and "apostles." Discipleship, not apostleship, was "the primary active function of the twelve till the Ascension, and, as we shall see, it remained always their fundamental function." Thus Hort concludes that the Twelve did not sit at the Last Supper as apostles, but as disciples. "Of whom then in after times were the Twelve the representatives that evening? If they represented an apostolic order within the Ecclesia then the Holy Communion must have been intended only for members of that order, and the rest of the Ecclesia had no part in it. But if, as the men of the Apostolic age and subsequent ages believed without hesitation, the Holy Communion was meant for the Ecclesia at large, then the Twelve sat that evening as representatives of the Ecclesia at large: they were disciples more than they were apostles" (30). So when in our Lord's prayer (St. John xviii) He cries "As Thou didst send me into the world, I also send them into the world," it is no exclusive ministerial commission that is given to the twelve as the representatives of a clerical order, but it

is the commission of the whole Ecclesia, whose purpose is to draw the rest of mankind to its own faith and love. And so, we may add throughout the book the Twelve stand as representing the whole church, not the ministry of the church alone. Upon the last charge to go into the world and preach the Gospel, we read that "it is to the Ecclesia itself as the missionary body that Christ's charge is ultimately addressed" (34). In the Acts the apostle is not one clothed with exclusive authority to rule, but he is a personal witness (39). The sole conception of their work put before us in the Acts, is that of making known the kingdom of God by words and deeds (40). On the occasion of the death of Ananias and Sapphira Hort remarks that "this is the first indication of the exercise of powers of administration by the apostles, and, so far as appears, it was not the result of an authority claimed by them but of a voluntary entrusting of the responsibility to the apostles by the rest" (47). With Lightfoot, and, I suppose, most writers of the present day, Hort leaves the exact origin of the Elders in uncertainty. They may have been appointed by the apostles, they may have been appointed by the Ecclesia, but in any case "it is but reasonable to suppose that the Christian Elders were not a new kind of officers, but simply a repetition of the Jewish elders who constituted the usual government of the Synagogue" (62). So again it is the members of the Ecclesia itself who set apart Barnabas and Saul; and "it is the members of the Ecclesia itself that dismiss them with fast and prayer and laying on of hands, whether the last act was performed by all of them, or only by representatives of the whole body, official or other" (64). The very careful discussion of the question of the authority exercised by the Twelve, the Elders and the Ecclesia at large in Jerusalem in the famous council met to consider the question of circumcision, concludes as follows: "A certain authority is then implicitly claimed. There is no evidence that it is more than a moral authority; but that did not make it less real" (83). That the apostles possessed an "ill-defined but lofty authority in matters of government and administration" is admitted, but on the other hand "there is no trace in Scripture of a formal commission of authority from Christ Himself" (84). The apostles naturally wield from the first the moral authority of founders, an authority which accumulated as years rolled on "by

the spontaneous homage of the Christians of Judaea". How far this authority was felt and acknowledged beyond the limits of the Holy Land, it is hard to say. In the letter sent to Antioch the authority of the Apostles is "moral rather than formal ; a claim to deference rather than a right to be obeyed" (85).

It would be possible to multiply quotations on this head, but I fear my readers are already wearied of them. But they are important as showing that the Roman conceptions of the church, not only are not found in Holy Scripture, but are so far from being developments of the original conceptions of the Ecclesia that they involve us in conclusions diametrically opposed to them. That a free church should delegate its authority for convenience or order's sake to a body of officers would be exceedingly natural ; but that the absolute surrender of all powers, into the hands of the Episcopate and finally of the Pope, and the conversion of a free church into an absolute monarchy, is a process that can by the most ingenious manipulation of history be described as a "development", we must firmly deny. In candour it must be admitted that the argument, if less obvious, is no less cogent against any form of Apostolic succession, or such a theory of Presbyterianism as that against which Hooker wrote, or indeed any Divine right at all save that of the whole Ecclesia.

All this has been set forth by Dr. Hort in an entirely non-controversial manner. Yet if we stopped here we should be giving our readers a poor idea of the warm spirituality which pervades many parts of this book. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the sympathetic description of St. Paul's glorious conception of the one universal Ecclesia. The stress of controversy has drawn the attention of students too exclusively to the external relations of the Ecclesia, and in most works on the church we have but little concerning the inward relations of its members. Dr. Hort, just because he is not writing as a controversialist, but as an exponent, is not unmindful of the large space occupied by the spiritual and ethical conditions of the Ecclesia, especially in the writings of St. Paul. St. Paul approaches the great subject of unity from a different point of view from that of many modern writers. Needless to say the great Apostle does not fall into that common error, the modern counterpart of the old Jewish error about the Sabbath, of supposing that man was made for the church. But

he describes the relations of Christians to one another in terms that involve their unity in the Ecclesia. Compare the striking exhortation "*μόνον ἀξίως τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τοῦ Χριστοῦ πολιτεύεσθε*," "behave as *citizens*," not merely as redeemed individuals, but as fellow members of the kingdom, directed "by the inward powers of the spirit of fellowship". The Epistle to the Ephesians is particularly rich in its presentation of the corporate side of Christianity. "He would be a bold man who should suppose himself to have fully mastered even the outlines of its teaching : but even the slightest patient study of it must be fruitful, *provided we are willing to find in it something more than we have brought to it.*" Dr. Hort's great powers of sympathetic insight are nowhere more conspicuous than in the sections on St. Paul's "image of the body". Christ the Head, "needed a body of members for its full working out (i.e. of salvation) through the ages : part by part He was, as St. Paul says, to be fulfilled in the community of His disciples, whose office in the world was the outflow of His own". The same remark is applicable to the section on the comparison of the Ecclesia to a bride, and to that on the image of building, through each of which figures the social aspects of the Gospel are described.

We do not anticipate for this work any very extensive sale. It will not run through two or three editions annually for two or three years and then be forgotten. It is a book not indeed exclusively for scholars, but for students, for it is not an essay but a study. But indirectly it will influence all succeeding discussions of this same subject, and its influence will be in the direction of liberty and of love. Particular points will, no doubt, be open to controversy. It cannot be otherwise. But it is not at all likely that in its description of the stages of the development of the Ecclesia in the Apostolic age, or in its presentation of the Apostolic conceptions of the church it will be either confuted or superseded. Personally, I believe it will make for Christian unity more powerfully (though indirectly) than any book which has yet been written.

HERBERT SYMONDS.

PRUDENTIUS.

EVERY man is influenced to a greater or less extent by his age and his contemporaries, and we must understand these if we would understand the man. His thoughts will be guided by those of his time, for whether he agree or disagree, whether he lead or follow he will think of what other people are thinking around him.

Prudentius was born in the middle of the fourth century, A.D., in the midst of a cluster of great men. Jerome and Ambrose were born in 340, Chrysostom in 347, Prudentius in 348 and Augustine in 354. This of itself should suggest much. Add the following. Prudentius was thirteen when Julian ascended the throne and made the last attempt to galvanize heathenism into life, and failed as all men do who try to stop time by putting the clock back. Hilary of Poitiers, more or less a neighbour, and Athanasius, a household name in every Christian land, died when he was in the twenties. He was thirty when the Goths won their first great victory in 378 at Adrianople, and he lived to see Rome herself the Christian centre of a Christian world, and died *felix opportunitate mortis* before she too fell to the conquering Goth when Alaric sacked Rome in 410. It was a century of great movements and great men—interesting from its dark beginning with the persecutions of Diocletian, Galerius and Maximin to its end. It was the century when rid from foes without, the Church had her first great fight with foes within—perhaps the greatest she ever had—and the councils from Nicaea onward mark the progress of the struggle. And all the time there was this dark cloud of barbarism threatening in the North—a terrible background for all this carnal and spiritual warfare.

Let us look a little more closely into the mind of the times. Christianity, as we have seen, had won the day and had won the world—a dangerous victory. It was no longer perilous to be a Christian—it was profitable and the world rushed into the Church. We picture to ourselves an Athanasius and an Augus-

tine as types of the age, but a far more typical man is the great semi-Arian ecclesiastical diplomatist and politician Eusebius of Nicomedeia. The world had swarmed into the Church and taken the sacraments, but alas! the baptismal wave had not washed off all original sin, and the result could have been prophesied. The tone of Christian living and thinking grew lower and lower. Even before now heathen influences had deeply coloured much of the best Christian thought, but now the dye is unmistakeable. The priesthood had grown great, thanks to St. Cyprian and his followers; it now grew greater still. Saints and martyrs took the place of eponymous heroes and demi-gods—a change for the better perhaps for they were less immoral, but scarcely an improvement on primitive Christianity. Eastern and Western heathenism alike had elevated the Supreme God to such a height that he was out of reach of the universe, and now they introduced the martyrs to bridge the gulf. And with the martyrs came their relics, the tales of their passions, their tombs and their images, pilgrimages to see all these wonders and prayers on inspection. We shall find all this in Prudentius, and we must remember that he was a Spaniard and in Spain began the worship of pictures. Simultaneously came in from outside heathen notions which turned the simple rites of the early Church into mysteries. Let any one read St. Ambrose on baptism and contrast him with St. Paul, and the fourth century will be understood. And with all this came a lower tone of Christian living, and the gladiatorial games (not ended till after Prudentius' death, and the subject of more than one honourable appeal made by him) and the races and the theatres (*privatum consistorium impudicitiae*) divided with the churches and the martyrs' shrines the interests of mankind, and as is usual in such cases took more than their share.

Of all this, and of the heresies with which the Church had to contend, we find abundant evidence in Prudentius, and if at times we half resent and half wonder at his attitude towards martyrs and heresiarchs, we must remember the age in which and for which he wrote. When he is frustrating the Arian and refuting the Marcionite, he does not seem to us always very subtle or very original. But then in the West, when once the Nicene creed was settled, it was adopted and supported through

thick and thin, largely because the Western had little taste for theological speculation being a practical man. Still Prudentius does make or borrow some good points, and if we feel much of his reasoning to be a little hackneyed nowadays, let us hope that some of our own most brilliant aphorisms and most startling intuitions may live to be hackneyed fourteen centuries hence.

Prudentius was born in 348, in the Spanish town of Caesar-augusta or Saragossa. "His early age wept under the cracking rods," he tells us, and leaves us to infer what other elements there had been in his education. Probably, like most other boys, he studied the two great subjects of the day—grammar and rhetoric. Ausonius, his contemporary (320-400), the poet of Bordeaux, wrote a series of poems on his professors (not every pupil is so grateful), and it appears that most of them were grammarians or rhetoricians. Both would use the same text book—one still authorized by our Minister of Education in Ontario—Virgil. In every school of the Latin world *haerebat nigro fuligo Maroni*, and as the grime gathered on Maro's page the grammarian drew from it all the lessons letters can give—grammar, prosody, style, archaeology, philosophy, history, religion, and what not? And the rhetorician taught the youth to write replies for Dido, and did not teach him one of the best lessons Virgil has for us all—self-restraint. They knew their Virgil in those days, when ladies and churchmen told the stories of the creation and the Passion in Virgilian centos, till Pope Gelasius had to warn the faithful these were apocryphal; when an Emperor, Valentinian, by the gentle art of misquotation did the great bard wrong by a mean poem of Virgilian lines, and the good Ausonius had reluctantly to desecrate the dead poet to humour the living Emperor with a poem in the same vein. Juvenius, an elder Spanish contemporary of Prudentius, alludes in the preface of his Evangelic History to *Minciadae dulcedo Maronis*, and the same sweetness shaped Prudentius as a hundred passages in his poems shew. Over and above his Virgil, he learnt his Bible till he knew it as few I fear know it to-day.

On boyhood followed the toga of manhood and taught him to lie, he tells us, and wanton lust and selfish indulgence defiled his youth. This may be poetical license. A man is never the best judge of his own conduct, or Bunyan would be damned and

Jay Gould canonized. So do not suspect our poet of too excessive sin. He probably means he was a lawyer. Then he served in the army, and was twice thereafter magistrate of noble cities, dealt out Roman law to the good, and was a terror to evildoers, and was finally honoured by the Emperor and awoke to find a snowy head convicting him of old age. And then, say the authorities, he took to religious poetry at fifty-seven, and though they borrow this from the poem I have been doing into prose, I beg leave to doubt at this point. I believe he had been writing verse all the time, and was fifty-seven when he wrote this preface after the manner of authors on the completion and not at the inception of his book. For he certainly foresees so well what he is to write, that it might serve as a table of contents to his works, and I do not think any poet was ever so successful a prophet. He will, he tells us, write hymns day and night, war against heresies and unravel the catholic faith, trample under foot the sacred things of heathenry, do despite to Rome's idols, hymn the martyrs and praise the Apostles. I will shew you that he did all this or had done it already.

First, however, let us see what had been achieved by his predecessors in sacred song. A hymn was in circulation, though not I suppose very widely known, which was alleged to have been sung by our Lord at the last supper, but as St. Augustine did not believe in it and it has not survived, we may let it go. We are told Tertullian wrote poems and so did Cyprian, but the best editors group their several poems as spurious works, and in three cases the same poem appears amongst the pseudonyma of both fathers. More genuine works are those of some men roughly contemporaries of Prudentius. Damasus, Pope 366 A.D. by the grace of his friends' fists, wrote neat Ovidian verse on Jerusalem, some hymns on the saints, and a couple of acrostics on our Lord's name. Hilary of Poitiers wrote some dull and rather halting hexameters on Genesis, a fatally attractive theme at this period, and some hymns in iambic dimeters remarkable chiefly for their neglect of quantity. I come now to two more important poets. Juvenius the Spaniard made a harmony of the Gospels in dreadfully tame hexameters, a monotony of elisionless lines made on one pattern, from which the freshness of the Gospel has been successfully expelled. In

justice to him I should add that he won the approval of St. Jerome, though Migne's reference is wrong and I could not find the saint's *ipsissima verba*. St. Ambrose of Milan (beside the *Te Deum* which is not in verse) wrote hymns for the Christian day in iambic dimeters, one of them noble in its simplicity, the others simple but hardly noble. He is superior to Hilary in his versification, but by no means equal to Prudentius.

Given a poet of a religious temperament, and given the fourth century, it is not difficult, at least after the event, to foresee what he will write. Prudentius must from a child have heard tales of martyrdom galore. The five edicts of persecution from 303 to 308 must have fallen in his grandfather's, if not in his father's time, and what child of Covenanting stock can ever forget Margaret Wilson drowning in the Solway? The Church had conquered, but, as we have seen, Heathenism was still strong, and Prudentius had at the most receptive time of boyhood lived through the reign of Julian (*Apoth.* 449), for whom it is interesting to find he had like St. Augustine a not unkindly feeling, else why does he call him *Perfidus ille Deo quamvis non perfidus urbi*? a patriot if an apostate? Consequently Prudentius has a good deal to say about idolatry, and if much that he says was said before by Tertullian and others, still we must not think it needed not to be repeated, or that our poet was thrashing a dead horse. By our day many books have been written to shew up the darker side of the Papacy, and each must inevitably be like the rest, while each may do service in its time. So Prudentius devoted a good deal of attention to idolatry, and like many another good man did not notice how much could be said, and would have to be said, about martyrology.

Again heresy called for attention. We do our thinking so much in compartments that we do not realize always to what extent things are mixed in this world. We read of Julian, Valentinian, Stilicho, and we read of Athanasius, Jerome and Augustine, but we do not always properly correlate the spheres in which they moved. Prudentius was the contemporary of them all, and in a measure entered into the life of them all. He saw the Roman world as a whole still, though the year 381 marked the beginning of the end, and the ultimate cleavage of East and West. Various questions rose in his mind. Why had God thus

welded the world into one? Long ago Virgil had seen mankind under Roman sway, and in Prudentius' own day Claudian was writing nobly of Rome's imperial destiny with a clearer and a broader view than Virgil's, for he saw the Roman world a world of Romans, and he was himself the symbol of his age, a Roman poet of Egyptian birth and Greek education.

*Haec est in gremio victos quae sola recepit,
humanumque genus communi nomine fovit,
matris non dominae ritu; civesque vocavit
quos domuit nexuque pio longinqua revinxit.*

In 11. cons. Stil. 150.

But even Claudian does not answer the question, Why? In fact it is one of the mysteries of literature, the detachment of Claudian from the thought of his time, his unconsciousness that men no longer worshipped Jove as of old.

Prudentius rises to the problem in the very spirit of St. Paul. He sees that the object of the unification of mankind under the sway of Rome was the unification of mankind under the sway of Christ. There was to be one earthly and one heavenly empire, the one in order to the other; mankind was to be one in Rome that it might be one in Christ. Christ was the author of Rome's greatness for Himself.

*Felices, si cuncta Deo sua prospera Christo
principe disposita scissent! qui currere regna
certis ducta modis Romanorumque triumphos
crescere et impletis voluit se infundere seclis.*

Adv. Symm. 1, 287.

*Vis dicam quae causa tuos Romane labores
in tantum extulerit? quis gloria fotibus aucta
sic cluat, impositis ut mundum frenet habenis?
Discordes linguis populos et dissona cultu
regna volens sociare Deus, subjungier uni
imperio quidquid tractabile moribus esset,
concordique iugo retinacula mollia ferre
constituit, quo corda hominum conjuncta teneret
religionis amor: nec enim fit copula Christo
digna nisi implicitas societ mens unica gentes.*

Adv. Symm. 11, 582.

*O Christe numen unicum,
O splendor, O virtus Patris,
O factor orbis et poli
atque auctor horum moenium:*

*qui sceptrā Romae in vertice
rerum locasti, sanciens
mundum Quirinali togae
servire et armis cedere :*

*ut discrepantum gentium
mores et observantiam,
linguasque et ingenia et sacra
unīs domares legibus.*

Steph. II, 413.

*Hoc actum est tantis successibus atque triumphis
Romani imperii; Christo jam tunc venienti,
crede, parata via est.*

Adv. Symm. II, 618.

It follows then that heathenism is an obstacle to God's designs, but not the only one. When "the Holy War" (for so I think I may correctly mistranslate *Psychomachia*) is over and every vice is vanquished, a new enemy is discovered within the ranks of the victors—Discord or Heresy, and the names of Photinus and Arius occur *immanes feritate lupi*. Heresy has to share the fate of Idolatry, Lust, and other enemies, and then the temple of God is built within the soul. So in the case of the world Heresy mars God's intended unity, and must be done away. To what this led we see in the case of a younger contemporary, Nestorius, the bishop of Constantinople, who asked the Emperor to give him earth clear of heretics and he would assure him of heaven in return. Fate's revenges are interesting and Nestorius was an arch-heretic ere he died. Prudentius is very far from such violence, and would use no force with heretic or heathen. In fact I do not remember such liberality in a church man, for he goes so far as to ask the Emperor that attention may be paid to the images of the heathen gods, and that the statues may stand—the works of great artists, fairest ornaments of our land. (Symm. I, 502.)

We may now turn to the works of Prudentius and pass them in rapid review, beginning with the two Theological poems—the Hamartigeneia and the Apotheosis. In both we may see Theology at smiling strife with Song, and the contest is fairly even, now the one and now the other predominating, much as in Lucretius Science and Song conspire and conflict. I confess to preferring to see the latter victorious in both cases.

The Hamartigeneia deals with the origin of evil—a problem I hasten to say not finally solved by our poet—and with Marcion and his two gods. If Marcion will maintain *dividuum regnare Deum*, Nature at least knows but one God. If two Gods, why not more? *Si duo sunt igitur, cur non sunt multa Deorum millia?* One of Marcion's gods is author of evil and the Old Testament, and the maker of man and the universe, but he is more a devil than a god. *Inventor vitii non est deus*. And then we have the story of Satan's revolt and his envy of man, man's corruption and nature's, (proved at length if by nothing else by our toilet tables), and the general depravation of the senses, though at the beginning it was otherwise, for God saw his work that it was good. Then after a good deal of other matter, and a prodigious parable from nature turning on the life history of the viper which illustrates sin, we have the great question :

Si non vult Deus esse malum cur non vetat? (641)

And the familiar and perhaps only answer :

*Non fit sponte bonus cui non est prompta potestas
velle aliud* * * (691)

*probitate coacta
gloria nulla venit sordetque ingloria virtus.* (694)

Man has a free choice, and so we come to lines which recall Browning.

*Nunc inter vitæ dominum mortisque magistrum
consistit medius : vocat hinc Deus inde tyrannus
ambiguum atque suis se motibus alternantem.* (721)

No, when the fight begins within himself
A man's worth something. God stoops o'er his head
Satan looks up between his feet—both tug—
He's left himself i' the middle.

Then follow illustrations from Lot and Naomi's daughters-in-law and bird catching, with an allusion to the Two Ways—that wonderful parable, popular from the days of Hercules' choice, and in Prudentius' hands reminding one of Bunyan's Hill Difficulty and its alternative. And so with prayer closes a long but not uninteresting poem.

In the Apotheosis we have to do with a series of heretics. First of all the Patripassian is confounded with references to the manifestations of Christ in the Old Testament—the common property of the defender of the faith from Justin Martyr's days.

Then comes Sabellius, and we have a review of human folly, but does any idolater really believe Jove or dog-faced Anubis is the supreme God? Consult *barbati deliramenta Platonis*, and despite cocks owed to Æsculapius, the philosophers conclude their arguments with one god. So does the *semifer Scotus*, who is perhaps Pelagius, the only Scot of note of that day. It is only in Christ

*heroum tandem intelleximus orsa
priscorum.* (236)

Then the Jew has his turn and is confronted with *legis in effigie scriptum per enigmata Christum*, and our poet grows eloquent as he demands to know in what literature Christ is not now famous:

*Hebraeus pangit stilus, Attica copia pangit
pangit et Ausoniae facundia tertia linguae.* (379)

and rehearses the triumphs of the cross among Scythians, Goths, Moors, and the world over, and the silencing of the world's oracles, Delphi, Dodona, Ammon and so forth, at the birth of Christ, adding a tale of his boyhood, how the heathen rites of Julian were baulked by a page who wore a cross. The exiled Jew is being punished for the death of Christ. With this he turns to the Psilanthropists—Homuncionites or Mannikinists as he calls them—and confronts them with our Lord's miracles, and discusses the nature of the soul, dropping at least one memorable line,

sed speculum deitatis homo est. (834)

Lastly he deals with the Docetists who held Christ was a phantasm, and really strikes out a fresh thought and a noble one.

*Et quid agit Christus si me non suscipit? aut quem
liberat infirmum si dedignatur adire
carnis onus, manuumque horret monumenta suarum?* (1020)

The lines may be not inaptly paralleled by Browning's

I never realized God's birth before—
How he grew likest God in being born.

Tantus amor terrae, he continues, *tanta est dilectio nostri*.

So much for the purely theological works of Prudentius, in which, with much that is borrowed and even dull, are many thoughts, brilliant, suggestive, and his own. We now come to his book *Peri Stephanon* or "The Crowns"—a set of fourteen hymns to martyrs, of very various metres and merits.

Martyrology is generally a dull subject, and the poet who deals with it is destined to repeat himself like a Poet Laureate, who makes birthday odes. Every martyr has a family likeness to every other martyr, and hymns to martyrs grow as monotonous as Heine's songs to young women. Prudentius does his best for them, for he had a Spaniard's love of the Saints and a great enthusiasm for them, and he introduces some new features which are not all successful. Brilliant lines, and even brilliant passages, do not make a brilliant book.

The best of the hymns is perhaps the second, to St. Lawrence, a Spaniard and an archdeacon, who suffered at Rome under Decius. The complaint is made by the Praefectus Urbi that the Church is hoarding wealth and hunting legacies :

*et summa pietas creditur
nudare dulces liberos :*

charges if not already true soon to be so. Lawrence has three days to produce this wealth, and then brings forward a crowd of pensioners, *ne pauperem Christum putes*. He is then committed to the "grid iron," and thence utters a remarkable hymn from which I have already quoted. He foresees (no doubt with the aid of the poet's retrospect) a Christian Rome and a Christian Emperor who will close the temples and keep as works of art what now are idols. The hymn ends with a picture of the lights of the Senate, sometime Luperci and Flamens, kissing the thresholds of martyrs' shrines, while afar beyond Alps and Pyrenees the Spanish poet sees the saint in heaven and implores his grace.

*Audi benignus supplicem
Christi reum Prudentium.*

One or two of the hymns border on the humorous. The story of St. Eulalia, a child martyr of Emerita, is told trippingly in a dactylic metre, roughly the first half a Virgilian hexameter, which we also find in Ausonius, though the dactyl was not permanently or comfortably adopted by the Church till the days of the Wesleys. *Germinis nobilis Eulalia* was a sadly precocious child who would be martyred, in very truth a *torva puellula*. She bearded the prætor, declaimed at large on idolatry, spat at the poor man who was very gentle with her, kicked over the idols and thuribles, and so achieved a martyrdom, the details

of which a Spanish poet could hardly be expected to spare us. The story of St. Cassianus the schoolmaster, delivered over for death to his schoolboys, is amusing enough, but Prudentius took it seriously, for he saw a picture of it all at Forum Cornelii on his way to Rome and was moved to prayer, which the saint granted, receiving the poem as a polite acknowledgement. One of the poems (iv) is a mere *tour de force* perhaps in imitation of Martial's little epigram (i, 62), on the towns of Italy and Spain and their literary glories, but for poets Prudentius puts saints, Caesaraugusta his own town carrying the day with no less than eighteen martyrs crowded into sapphic verse—a great achievement but scarcely poetry. The worst poem of the collection is the martyrdom of St. Romanus, a garrulous worthy who in a speech of two hundred and sixty lines denounces heathenism on the familiar lines of Tertullian, and even when his tongue is cut out talks on for hundreds of lines more. A ridiculous episode in this poem is that of another lamentably precocious child who knows a good deal too much Theology and Physiology for his seven years, and who when a familiar remedy fails

(*pusionem praecipit*
sublime tollant et manu pulsant nates)

is put to death, while his mother sings a psalm to encourage him. Romanus was a real historic character, but Eusebius' account of his martyrdom (*M.P.* 2) is much milder. A hymn on St. Hippolytus gives a picture of the catacombs, and those on St. Peter and St. Paul, with descriptions of their churches in Rome, have an interest and a value as contemporary accounts of these famous places then recently built.

One turns with relief to the *Psychomachia* or "Holy War"—a curious blend of Virgil and Bunyan, though not quite equal to either. The War is a series of single conflicts between Virtues and Vices, in which the former invariably win. Lust is overcome by Modesty by the virtue of the Virgin birth of our Lord:

inde omnis jam diva caro est quae concipit illum (76)

*majestate quidem non degenerante per usum
carnis sed miseros ad nobiliora trahente.* (80)

Patience waits for Anger to fall of itself. Pride stumbles into a pit, after reviling Humility and her sister graces ;

Iustitia est ubi semper egens, et pauper Honestas.

Luxury, gorgeously described as she rides to the fray, comes nearer winning the day, but is overthrown by Sobriety, who displays the *Vexillum sublime crucis*,—a favourite theme with Prudentius, who has many noble thoughts on the *Insigne Lignum*. Lastly, as I have said, Heresy is dealt with, and a temple is built to the design of the Apocalypse, with gates and jewels as there described. Altogether it is a bright and interesting work, though one is startled to find how Homerically the Virtues treat the fallen Vices.

The "Daily Round" is again a collection of hymns for various occasions, made more interesting by digressions into Scripture history. They are consequently not adapted for singing, but for poetic touch and thought they rank with the best of Prudentius' work. A few examples will suffice. For the hour of lighting the lamps many hymns were written in early days, which are necessarily short and apt to be jejune. But Prudentius strays very happily to the burning bush, and thence in Moses' company to the Red Sea and the desert and the fiery pillar, and draws from it all very skillfully a parable of Heaven. There are one or two odd little touches in the piece, *e.g.*, even spirits *sub Styge* have holiday on Easter Eve; candles and lamps are described with some detail and grace, and classed as God's gifts—a pretty thought—for artificial lights are given us

*ne nesciret homo spem sibi luminis
in Christi solido corpore conditam.*

When he writes a hymn for sleep time, he tells of Joseph interpreting dreams in prison and of St. John on Patmos. The sign of the cross on brow and heart before going to bed will keep you safe. His hymn "for all hours" is a graceful poem in trochaic tetrameters, setting forth Christ's glory, his miracles, passion and triumph. That on the Epiphany contains the well-known lines on the Holy Innocents. My favourite, however, is the hymn for before meat. It is in the same metre as the hymn to Eulalia, but more dignified in every way. It opens nobly

*O crucifer bone lucisator
omniparens pie verbigena*

and is full of fine thought never so gracefully expressed. It tells

of the bounties of God, of Eden, and of resurrection, in the spirit of inspired poetry, and prays

*fercula nostra Deum sapiant,
Christus et influat in pateras :
seria ludicra verba jocos,
denique quod sumus aut agimus
trina superne regat pietas.*

But I must forbear to quote lest I transcribe the poem.

We come lastly to the great work, "Against Symmachus." With the triumph of the Church heathenism fell. The Altar of Victory, removed from the Senate by Constantius and restored by Julian, had again been removed. In 384 deputations were sent by the Senate, which was still the stronghold of Paganism, to Valentinian II. to plead for the restoration of the altar to the goddess, even though she were but a name (*numen* and *nomen*), and of various immunities to priests and vestals. The petition of Symmachus summed up their requests and pleadings. Everyone to his taste and custom in religion. Every nation had its tutelary genius, and Rome had hers. Let not antiquity go for nothing. The great mystery of life could hardly be discovered by one line of search. Rome personified pled for her old usages, for the Vestals and their due, out of gratitude if for no other reason. In fact, famine and disaster marked heaven's disapproval—not, of course, of the Emperor's new religion, but of the neglect of the old religion.

To this St. Ambrose made a vigorous reply. The old rites had not, as alleged, defended Rome—from Hannibal and the Gauls for example. Rome personified resents her victories being put down to aught but her valour. She is not ashamed to be converted in her old age. As for the great mystery God's voice reveals it to us. Contrast seven Vestals with the multitudes of Christian virgins. Heavy burdens lay on Christian priests who must surrender their taxable property on ordination, while the wealth of the Church was the revenues of the indigent. Why had the famine been so slow in following its cause? As for antiquity everything advanced; agricultural methods were bettered; man himself grew; even Rome had adopted foreign rites. The temples never helped Pompey, Cyrus or Julian, victory being more a matter of legions than religions—the good bishop here anticipating Napoleon.

In 404 Prudentius published two books of hexameters on the same theme. Boissier seems to be right in saying the world was not fully converted and men of letters were still heathen in their libraries, and that a literary presentment of Christianity was needed, for which Symmachus gave as fair an opening to Prudentius as Celsus did to Origen.

He begins by saying Plato's dream of philosophers for kings is realized in Christian Emperors, and proceeds to shew up the heathen Pantheon, as Tertullian had done before. Heathenism is so longlived because of early training, and he has a fine passage on the heathen associations of childhood and growing years opening out with further initiation into pagan rites. He boldly attacks the gladiatorial games with which heathenism made no attempt to cope, and tells the story of Constantine's victory at the Mulvian Bridge and his speech to the Senate, of the Senate's conversion and how *sua secula Roma erubuit*, and finally tells Symmachus that to a Christian Emperor he owes his rise in the world. So much for the first book. It is interesting throughout to remark the kindly and respectful way in which Prudentius always speaks of Symmachus. Courtesy is not always the mark of Christian controversy in the fathers.

In the second book he repeats Ambrose's points about victory won by *labor impiger, aspera virtus*, about progress and other things, but adds much of his own which is better and undreamt of by Ambrose. Once more he approximates to Browning:

- *Nonne hominem et pecudem distantia separat una ?
quod bona quadrupedum ante oculos sita sunt : ego contra
spero.*

Progress, man's distinctive mark alone,
Not God's, and not the beasts': God is, they are,
Man partly is and wholly hopes to be.

If there is no future, he continues in fine declamation, let us eat and drink and break every law at once. Where Symmachus introduced Rome as speaking, Prudentius introduces God speaking of man's creation, end and resurrection, and pleading for a temple of mind not marble. Curiously enough, here as elsewhere, Prudentius does not mention truth as belonging to the spiritual temple. He makes great game of the genius of Rome, and of immigrant gods.

*Non divum degener ordo
et patriæ extorris Romanis adfuit armis.*

No, it was God who made Rome for His own ends, that Rome might make mankind one, and so prepare the way for Christ. Rome too is personified, congratulating herself on having sloughed off her former taints, on being free from danger from the Goths, through Christ and His servants, the Emperor and Stilicho. As for the many ways to the great mystery, one is right if rough and hard, and the others are wrong if pleasant, and his language recalls Hesiod. The famine! nobody goes to the Circus hungry! and he concludes with an entreaty for the abolition of the gladiatorial shows—

nullus in urbe cadat cuius sit poena voluptas. (1125)

This rapid sketch must suffice for the works of Prudentius, but a few points of style remain to be considered. To begin with his failings. He had the characteristic fault of his training. All the rhetoric-bred poets declaim from Lucan onward. They cannot break loose from the school of rhetoric. They lack imagination and balance, and are carried away by language. Prudentius rarely knows when to leave off. One or two samples will serve. A common taunt against the heathen gods is that they betrayed their own lands to Rome. This is how Prudentius sets it.

*Juppiter ut Cretæ domineris, Pallas ut Argis,
Cynthius ut Delphis, tribuerunt omine dextro.
Isis Nilicolas, Rhodios Cytherea reliquit,
venatrix Ephesum virgo. Mars deditit Hebrum;
destituit Thebas Bromius, concessit et ipsa
Juno suos Phrygiis servire nepotibus Afros.*

Adv. Symm. II, 489.

Is not this to make catalogues rather than poetry? When speaking of the way which does not lead to the great mystery and its ramifications, he spends seventeen lines in detailing some thirteen forms of heathenism—the worship of Bacchus, Cybele, etc. Again the Star in the East outshone the Zodiac, and we have some twelve lines describing how each of nine signs was affected, and the sun too. Contrast Horace's moderation when Astrology tempted him to prolixity. The jewel gates of the New Jerusalem at the end of the Holy War take fifteen lines, as jewel after jewel is invoiced.

But this is not all. For besides what may be called relevant overloading, we have overloading which is irrelevant. Prudentius could tell a story and could not refrain. So we have plentiful digressions into stories, interesting no doubt and well told, but not needed. They are generally Biblical.

Though his *sententiae* are often crisp and clear, he has a tendency at times to let his thoughts draggle—whether from age or from impatience. Contrast Virgil's perfect sentences with never a word too much and these which continue for metrical reasons when you have expected them to stop.

While in hexameters Prudentius seems fairly strong, in argumentative passages, like Lucretius and Juvenal, he is almost bound to drop into ending lines with quadrisyllables or pairs of disyllables—especially when he expounds the Trinity—and the effect is not happy. His quantities, though generally, are not always classical—Greek diphthongs and long vowels being often shortened, *e.g.*, *rhomphaealis*, *haeresis*, *Paraclitum*; and short vowels lengthened, *e.g.*, *charisma catholicus* (too tempting a word metrically) *sophia*. *Cui* may be scanned as a long or short monosyllable, two short syllables or a short and a long.

His spondaic hexameters are fairly numerous and not very impressive. His pentameters are weak. I do not find his alliterations very dignified or always very musical.

On the other hand, he is a master of narrative clear cut and effective. His language is often graceful and pointed, and he brings out his thoughts well. His prologues, for example, are masterpieces. He is particularly striking in his use of the form *Asyndeton*.

Metrically he has redeeming qualities which outweigh his defects. His hexameters are varied and easy, and his elisions frequent enough to relieve monotony without producing roughness. He is in this respect a wonderful contrast to Juvenal, whose lines are all alike and all lacking in elision. The careful student of Virgil will feel instinctively how important this is. In fine, if Prudentius' hexameters are not equal to Virgil's (and no Latin poet's ever were), they are still telling, vigorous and metrically good. He employs, besides, a considerable number of lyrical metres and handles them like a master. Many of them

are Horatian, and the rest may be paralleled in contemporary poets.

Of his indebtedness to previous poets, particularly to Virgil, much might be written. I will here content myself with remarking that I have found a number of cases of direct imitations, or perhaps of echoes of Juvenal; one or two cases of the influence of Propertius and Lucan, and a good few of Lucretius. I have noted some thirty instances of indebtedness to Horace. These are the fruits of ordinary reading. To Virgil I have given more attention, and I have gathered some one hundred and fifty instances of his influence. Some were cases of undisguised pilfering: *e.g.*

Christe graves hominum semper miserate labores Psych. i.

Phoebe graves Trojae semper miserate labores Aen. vi, 56.

others are more honest reminiscences or echoes:

Martis congressibus impar Ps. 549.

impar congressus Achilli Aen. i, 495.

ad astra doloribus itur Cath. x, 92.

sic itur ad astra Aen. ix, 641.

Others again would be less marked if not so numerous, *e.g.*, such phrases as Psych. 40 *gramineo in campo*, 41 *fulget in armis*, 49 *adacto transadigit gladio*, which are Virgil's: others less conspicuous are metrical parallels if the phrase may be allowed: *e.g.*

funalis machina Ps. 866. *fatalis machina* Aen. ii, 237.

femina provocat arma virum Steph. iii, 36.

Again there are instances of what I may call deliberate quotation: *e.g.* when Constantine comes to Rome as a Christian victor and the Empire becomes Christian.

denique nec metas statuit, nec tempora ponit;

imperium sine fine docet, etc.

Symm. i, 542.

This same Virgilian influence is found in very many Latin poets, and is not at all extraordinary when we remember that Virgil was the popular educator of Europe for centuries, and would still be a better one than many in use to-day.

We have seen something of the Spaniard with his national love of and pride in the Spanish saints, his interest in martyrdoms and his devotion; of the Roman proud of his Roman citizenship, jealous of his country's honour lest it be usurped by

false gods, and above all bound up in a Christian Rome and its mission ; of the man of letters, the poet, the artist ; one side of him remains—and that may best be set forth in his own words. When we have seen the whole man, and have studied him all round, and in relation to his times, we cease to think of the points strange and even grotesque to-day, but feel that here is a true man, as enlightened as he is true, as good a Christian as he is an artist.

Gifts for God the Father wrought
To Him true, pure, and holy spirits offer ;
Gifts of honest mind and thought,
The riches of a heav'n blest life they proffer.

Wealth another man may bring,
The needs and sorrows of the poor relieving ;
I, alack ! can only sing,
Swift Trochee and Iambus interweaving.

Scanty holiness is mine,
Nor can I help the needy, rich alms flinging ;
Yet will deign my Lord Divine
To lend a Father's ear to my poor singing.

In the mansion of the great
Stand needful furnishings in rack and trestle ;
Gleams the gold and silver plate,
The bowl of polished brass and earthen vessel.

Wrought of precious ivory
Or carved of oak—or simple elmwood platters—
What their nature, so each be
Meet for the Master's use, it nothing matters.

There are uses for them all,
Great cost or small is not of use the token.
Me within my father's hall
Christ found : He came and found me old and broken.

Yet has Christ a need of me,
Though but a moment's space I have my station ;
Use and place there still can be
For me within the Palace of Salvation.

Be the service ne'er so slight
God owns it. Then whatever Time is bringing,
This shall still be my delight
That Christ has had the tribute of my singing.

T. R. GLOVER.

SUNDAY LAWS.

FROM a time beyond the surviving records of man the seventh day seems to have been sacred. Its distinctive observance is one of the most ancient customs which have come down to us. How this began and has continued, what changes it has undergone, what has survived, what elements in it are permanent and vital, what claims it makes upon us to-day, are questions on which theologians, historians and scholars generally have differed and still differ, and the average man must be content to leave them unsettled, but an institution more than six thousand years old must have *raison d'être* worthy of most serious consideration, in order to determine in what relation men stand to it to-day, and what claims it makes upon them.

The first definite form in which we find it is in the laws of Moses, but this is clearly not its beginning, and does not claim to be: on the contrary "Remember the rest-day" implies that the rest-day was no new thing, the words are wholly inconsistent with the notion that Moses was promulgating a new law; and it seems to be well established that the seventh day was sacred in Egypt, Assyria, and other Eastern countries. Some eminent scholars connect it with the week of seven days which had existed from time immemorial in almost all Eastern countries, and of which Laplace says, "Its origin is lost in the most remote antiquity—it circulates through ages, mixing itself with the calendars of different races. It is perhaps the most ancient and incontestible monument of human knowledge, it appears to point out a common source whence that knowledge proceeded." The week might have been suggested by the phases of the moon, or by the number of the planets known in ancient times, an origin which is rendered more probable from the names universally given to the different days of which it is composed. According to Dio Cassius, the Egyptian week began on Saturday, but on their flight from Egypt the Israelites, from hatred to their ancient oppressors, made Saturday the last day of the week. *

* *iv Ency. Brit.* 665.

Dr. Robertson Smith says: "What is certain is that the origin of the Sabbath must be sought within a circle that used the week as a division of time. It is found in various parts of the world in a form that has nothing to do with astrology or the seven planets; and with such a distribution as to make it pretty certain that it had no artificial origin, but suggested itself independently and for natural reasons to different peoples, in fact the four quarters of the moon supply an obvious division of the month, and wherever new moon and full moon are religious occasions we get in the most natural way a sacred cycle of fourteen or fifteen days, of which the week of seven or eight days (determined by half moon) is the half. Thus the old Hindus chose the new and the full moon as days of sacrifice. . . It is most significant that in the older parts of the Hebrew Scriptures the new moon and the Sabbath are almost invariably mentioned together. We cannot tell when the Sabbath became dissociated from the month, but the change seems to have been made before the book of the Covenant, which already regards it simply as an institution of humanity and ignores the new moon."*

This view teaches that the Sabbath was a product from natural causes operating among primitive peoples, and that it gradually assumed the definite form which it has in the law of Moses, and which it has continued to hold ever since throughout the greater part of the Christian world.

It was originally a festival, which meant a day specially and publicly set apart for religious observances. "To trace the festivals of the world through all their variations would be to trace the entire history of human religion and human civilization."†

"Of the Jewish feasts, which are usually traced to a pre-Mosaic origin, the most important and characteristic was the weekly Sabbath, but special importance was also attached from a very early date to the lunar periods. In Leviticus 23rd chapter, where the list is most fully given, they seem to be arranged with a conscious reference to the sacred number 7."‡

* *xxi Ency. Brit.* 126.

† *Ency. Brit.* ix, 113.

‡ *Ency. Brit.* Festivals, p. 17.

The concurrence of testimony seems to indicate that the Sabbath was a religious festival and holy day amongst the Israelites, whilst still at the tribal and patriarchal stage of their history, that it had been so for ages before Moses, that if we regard it as a human institution we would say that it had grown up in the same way as the laws and customs of all ancient peoples have done.

“The larger mass of the law of every country has begun its growth long before the existence of the supreme political authority in being at any particular moment, and this mass of law was silently recognized and indeed formed the support of some of the main institutions of the state long before it attracted the attention of that authority.”*

“Ancient laws for many generations were not committed to writing, but transmitted from father to son with the formulas of religion.”†

They were all believed to be of Divine origin. “If legislator means a man who creates a code of laws by the power of his genius and imposes it on other men, then such legislators did not exist among the ancients.”

“Soloñ, Lycurgus, Minos and Numa simply put in writing the existing laws of their cities.”‡

Again; the institution in Moses' day is full-grown. So far as regards its external form we can't improve on it now. King Alfred re-enacted it almost *verbatim*, and the modern legislation on the subject is directed towards matters of detail.

“To the Jews the Sabbath was a religious festival, a day of joy and delight. It was to be honoured by wearing finer clothes, by three special meals of the best the house could afford; fasting, mourning, mortification of every kind, were strictly forbidden. This character of cheerfulness and rest from the toil of the world's business, of quiet and peaceful return to oneself, of joyous communion with friends and kindred over good cheer, in short of mental and bodily relaxation and recreation that maketh the heart glad while the sublime ideas which it symbolizes are re-

* Amos, *Science of Law*, 48.

† Baker, *Ancient State*, 127.

‡ Baker.

called to the memory at every step and turn, seems to have prevailed at all times down to our own among the Jews.”*

At the same time it was a holy convocation, *i.e.*, a religious assembly, in which readings and some kind of exposition of the law formed the principal features.

From the Christian era the day was changed, but the institution continued. Christ instituted no festival or sacred day, but he affirmed that the Sabbath was instituted for the whole human race. He fulfilled it as he did other Jewish laws by putting a profounder meaning into it. The first legislative recognition of Sunday after the Christian era is in the edict of Constantine (321) which implies that the day was then observed as a Christian institution. It runs thus: “Let all judges, inhabitants of cities, and artificers, rest on the venerable Sunday, but in the country husbandmen may freely and lawfully apply to the business of agriculture, since it often happens that the sowing of corn and planting of vines cannot be so advantageously performed on any other day, lest by neglecting the opportunity they should lose the benefits which the Divine bounty bestows upon us.”

The Church in the year 538 recommended rather than enjoined, by the Third Council of Orleans, abstinence from agricultural labour on Sunday, in order “that the people might have time to go to church and say their prayers.”

The exception of agricultural labour in the edict of Constantine was repealed by the Emperor Leo about the end of the ninth century. Nearly all the Anglo-Saxon kings, from Withraed to Canute, legislated on this subject, and the substance of their laws can perhaps best be given in the words of Dr. Lingard:

“The Anglo-Saxon legislature prohibited on the Sunday not only all predial labour and every kind of handicraft by which men of low and servile condition were accustomed to earn their livelihood, but also the field sports of hunting and hawking, the dissipation of travelling, the sale or purchase of merchandise, the prosecution of family feuds, the holding of courts of justice, &c. If a clerk was convicted of working on a Sunday he was adjudged to pay a fine of one hundred and twenty shillings; if a free servant, acting of his own will, to the loss of liberty or a fine of fifty shillings, and so on of other classes. From the exemption from labour thus granted to the working classes, the Sunday itself was called a freols-day or day of freedom.”

* *Chambers' Ency.* Art. Sunday, 398.

From the Conquest down to the Reformation the chief laws affecting Sunday were the Acts passed by Richard II. and Henry IV, enjoining the practice of archery on that day. There was similar legislation in Scotland about fifty years later (1467).

The Reformation was attended with a general dissolution of Church authority in those countries which did not provide adequately for the transition period. So it might have been in England had not legislation enforced church attendance and church influence. An Act of Edward VI. provides that "all inhabitants of the realm must endeavour to resort to their parish church or chapel accustomed or upon reasonable let thereof to some usual place where common prayer is used every Sunday upon pain of the censure of the Church." There is an implied prohibition of work on Sunday, but going to church is the main point.

There is no civil penalty in this statute, but there is in the next, the church censures perhaps losing their effect. I. Elizabeth, cap. 3, is substantially a re-enactment of the Statute of Edward, but it adds a fine of one shilling for those who fail to go to church.

At the end of Elizabeth's reign there is a canon providing that all manner of persons within the Church of England shall celebrate and keep the Lord's Day.

The propensity to travel on Sunday is deep-seated in human nature. It troubled the Jewish rabbis, and it has received the attention of Christian legislators from Constantine down to Mr. Hardy. Charles the I. dealt with the evil in his day in a manner interesting still. III Charles I, chapter 1, runs thus: "Forasmuch as the Lord's Day, commonly called Sunday, is much broken and profaned by carriers, waggoners, carters, wain-men, butchers and drovers of cattle, to the great dishonour of God and reproach of religion, be it therefore enacted that no carrier, &c., shall travel upon the said day upon pain that every person so offending shall lose a forfeit of twenty shillings for every such offence."

The Puritans devoted some attention to the proper observance of the Sabbath, and there is an ordinance of the Long Parliament by which "vainly and profanely walking" on the Sabbath Day is prohibited.

We come next to the statute, parts of which are substantially the law of Sunday in this Province to-day, 29 Charles II, chap. 7. It is an Act "For the better observation and keeping holy the Lord's Day, commonly called Sunday," and it provides that all the laws enacted and in force concerning the observance of the Lord's Day and repairing to the church thereon be carefully put in force, and that all and every person and persons whatsoever shall on every Lord's Day apply themselves to the observation of the same by exercising themselves thereon in the duties of piety and true religion, publicly and privately, and that no tradesman, artificer, workman, labourer or other person whatsoever, shall do or exercise any worldly labour, business or work of their ordinary callings upon the Lord's Day.

II. That no drover, horse courser, waggoner, butcher, higler, &c., shall travel, &c., on that day.

It further provided that the Sunday traveller who was robbed should have no action against the Hundred for compensation under the Statute of 13 Edward I. A certain man was robbed in 1721, while in his coach on his way with his wife to the parish church, and he brought his action against the Hundred. This Statute of Charles was set up as a defence, but the court said that going to his parish church was not travelling within the statute, which was made for the better observation of the Lord's Day, and by the statute of 1 Elizabeth every one is to go to his parish church on Sunday, and the Chief Justice remarked that if they had been going to make visits the decision might have been otherwise.

The Act of Charles is the chief statute governing the observance of the Lord's Day in England.

Coming to America we find the principle of this statute generally in force by express enactment or by inheritance from colonial days. California is an exception. She has repealed her Sunday laws. There has been difficulty in America in separating the two things which form the institution—rest and worship. In a country where all religions are to be free and equal there are objections to legislating on the subject of worship, and so it is held that "the object of Sunday legislation is to make Sunday a day of rest, and to prevent private citizens from being disturbed in their enjoyment of the day by others practising their ordinary

trades and pursuits or indulging in disturbing and boisterous amusements."*

Illustrating the American Sunday of a century ago there is an interesting note in Washington's diary under date of Nov. 8, 1789, when he was journeying through Connecticut. "It being contrary to law and disagreeable to the people of this State to travel on the Lord's Day, and my horses after passing through such intolerable roads wanting rest, I stayed at Perkin's tavern (which, by the by, is not a good one) all day; and a meeting-house being *within a few rods of the door*, I attended morning and evening service and heard very lame discourses from a Mr. Pond."

That law still remains in force in Connecticut. One of the best expressions of American judicial opinion on the subject is that of Judge Woodward, of Pennsylvania: "We have no right to give up this institution—it has come down to us with the most solemn sanctions both of God and man, and if we do not appreciate it as we ought we are at least bound to preserve it."†

In Ontario we have the Act of Charles II. slightly modified, and it is noteworthy that the preamble has now disappeared. When first enacted in 1845 our Lord's Day Act is declared to be "for the better observance and keeping holy the Lord's Day, commonly called Sunday," "which day ought to be duly observed and kept holy," and it is enacted that "all laws in force for the observance of the Lord's Day and repairing to the church thereon be carefully put in execution." Indians and corporations are exempt from the operation of this Act.

It implies that the Christian religion is part of the law of our land, wherein possibly we are better off than our American neighbours.

Four things are dealt with in these Sunday laws—work, worship, travel, amusement—but one main purpose seen in them all is to separate one day in seven from the pursuits of daily life. Whether work, or play, or travel, is forbidden, or church attendance enjoined, this day is to be kept apart from the other six. The Puritan makes it a fast, the Cavalier a feast, the Jew rejoices, the Scot strives to attain a spiritual height beyond his

* 24 *Am. & Eng. Ency. of Law*, 538.

† *Johnson v. Conn.*, 22 Pa., St., 109.

reach, the animal man takes a holiday, but to all alike this day means rest from the daily routine, time to think, opportunity to be a man, (especially does it mean this to the working-man who goes to work on six days before his children are awake and gets home at night after they are asleep). The institution has a vitality that survives the rise and fall of empires, it persists through all changes of place, and time, and circumstance. The day is changed, the grounds of its observance are different in different ages, the mode of observance varies in East and West, and from age to age, but the rest-day remains.

“Immutably survive for our support
The measures and the forms which an abstract intelligence supplies.”

Does the man of the Victorian era need this day less or more than the man of the Mosaic age or of King Alfred's day? Human life is fuller and richer than ever it was in many ways, but there is no more time. In truth there is less. The higher spirits have been wont to withdraw themselves from the noise and bustle of men in order to commune with the unseen, and by so doing they have sometimes enriched humanity. In the artificial conditions of modern life is it less necessary to create a silence and stillness into which the spirit may withdraw itself?

“In all times men of religious genius and aspiration have sought in the silence of the hills, places of adoration and communion, for which the crowded streets of cities made no room.”

Can we devise a better way of cultivating our higher nature than the way which has come down to us from the remotest past. For the average man there is no other visible. If he cannot once a week put off the yoke and dismiss the cares, and worries, and trivialities, and meannesses, that mingle with the daily toil, and think upward, his life is not worth living. We have shortened the hours of labour, we have heard “the cry of the children” and protected them from oppressive factory labour, but we are letting Sunday go.

We boast that our flag floats over no slave, but the slave was free from toil on Sundays, and many of our fellow-citizens are not. It is said that in the land of liberty south of us two millions of men work on Sunday—say one in ten of the men of the nation—and we are following this lead. In the year 1838 a Sunday train started on the Eastern Railway, near Boston, and ran

till 1847, when it stopped for want of patronage. It is running now profitably. Fifty years ago the Sunday newspaper was unknown. Forty years ago the Grand Trunk Railway ran no trains on Sunday except "perishable freight." Some years ago it started Sunday evening trains from Toronto and Montreal. Within the last year or two it has started day trains on Sunday. Fifty years ago Macaulay made a great speech in the British House of Commons on the ten hours' bill. He said,—connecting England's commercial supremacy with her Sunday rest :—

"Therefore it is that we are not poorer, but richer, because we have through many ages rested from our labour one day in seven. That day is not lost. While industry is suspended, while the plough lies in the furrow, while the Exchange is silent, while no smoke ascends from the factory, a process is going on, quite as important to the wealth of nations as any process which is performed on more busy days. Man, the machine of machines, the machine compared with which all the contrivances of the Watts and the Arkwrights are worthless, is repairing and winding up, so that he returns to his labours on the Monday with clearer intellect, with livelier spirits, with renewed corporal vigour. Never will I believe that what makes a population stronger and healthier and wiser and better can ultimately make it poorer."

High authorities say that Sunday rest is necessary to restore the physical strength after six days' labour—that the physiological argument is the strongest of all. Said Proudhon, "The certainty of science is proved by the result. Decrease the week by one day only and the labour is insufficient for the repose, increase it by the same amount and it is too much"*

Humboldt says: "In Paris, in the time of the revolution, I saw this institution, despite its Divine origin, superseded by the dry and wooden decimal system. Only the tenth day was what we call Sunday, and all customary work was continued for nine long days. This being evidently too long, Sunday was kept by several as far as the police laws would permit it, and thus again too much idleness was the result."†

Napoleon, who possessed some of the wisdom of the statesman, restored the Christian Sunday in 1803.

Writing of the masses of the working-class in Paris and other French cities, to whom Sunday is to-day unknown, Mr. W. S. Lilly, the author of "On Right and Wrong," says:

**On the Observance of Sunday*, p. 67.

†*Letters to a Friend*, 1849.

"For these multitudes bereft of belief in God and immortality the luminous vision which once lighted up life with poetry and transfigured it with celestial radiance has faded away, leaving them poor indeed : better fed, better clothed, it may be, but more animal, less god-like, the only gleam of imaginative happiness left them. . . supplied by Monday drunkenness in which they drown the recollection of their Sunday toil."

The tendency to encroach on the Sabbath is as old as the institution itself. All the legislation here noted has been directed towards holding in check this tendency. The corporation of the period brings a new element into the play of forces more potent than any other in several respects ; and it is not on the side of the Sabbath. In truth the great corporations are our chief Sabbath-breakers, the small ones crack it too.

Corporations to-day constitute a fifth estate in the realm, and they threaten to swallow up the other four. Their influence operates like a law of gravitation on all within its reach. It is invisible and pervasive as the air. A combine of our great railways could take the country by the throat, and the result of the struggle would be uncertain. Corporations don't keep the commandments. The railway director goes to church on Sunday and repeats the fourth commandment, and prays, "Lord incline our hearts to keep this law," whilst his railway train is rushing through it, fifty miles an hour.

The Canadian Sunday is said to be the Puritan Sunday with modern improvements. The Puritan Sunday was one of the early settlers in this Province. It came over with the United Empire Loyalists, and the people from the home-land also brought it with them. They cherished it, for it had a good record. Under its influence the founders of American literature were bred—Emerson, Hawthorne, Thoreau, Lowell, Holmes. What it did for England may be judged by such products of its training as Cromwell's "Ironsides," of whom Macaulay tells us, that after the Restoration, "The discarded warriors prospered beyond other men, that none was charged with any theft or robbery, that none was heard to ask an alms, and that if a baker, a mason or a waggoner attracted notice by his diligence and sobriety, he was in all probability one of Oliver's old soldiers."

Our Sunday of to-day has just been written of by Dr. Goldwin Smith in these words :

"It is impossible to insist on the obligation of keeping the Jewish Sabbath, the day on which the Creator rested after the six days' work of creation; and in fact we do not keep it, our Sunday being the first day of the week, and not the seventh. But the Sabbath has glided into the Day of Rest, of spiritual rest for those who are spiritually minded, of rest at all events for all, and of Sabbath stillness after the noise and bustle of the week. The French revolutionists, when they undertook to make new heavens and a new earth on the principles of Reason and Rousseau, substituting the tenth day for the seventh, found it would not do. Sunday has ceased to be an article of the law, but it remains an article of human nature."*

This paper is not an attempt to defend the institution of Sunday on economic or physiological grounds, or to state the arguments for its moral and spiritual obligations. To do any of these things would require an article based on a special equipment of information. The sketch here outlined contributes to the defence of the Day of Rest only in its own item, namely, that what has for so many ages been regarded as a boon—that which has become "an article of human nature," ought not to be exploited by corporations, nor abstracted from one part of the community for the pleasure or gratification of another part, nor should it be lightly and thoughtlessly allowed to slip out of our hands.

**Christmas Globe.*

G. M. MACDONNELL.

ROCK OF AGES.

DONE INTO THE RHYMED TROCHAICS OF THE ORIGINAL.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>1. Pro me scisse, Jesu mi,
In te oro abscondi.
Lympha undans ex corde
Cum cruore mundet me.
Purus ero sic culpa,
Custus tota in vita.</p> | <p>3. Mecum fero nil ad te,
Sed ad crucem verto me.
Nudus vestem te rogo,
Debilis ad te volo.
Me immundum fons purget,
Morituum renovat.</p> |
| <p>2. Nil est labor, coram te,
Christo, justo iudice.
Fides valet nil ardens,
Oculusve semper flens.
Solut Tu Salvator es,
Munda me, nam tu potes.</p> | <p>4. Dum in vita maneo,
Quando mortem oboeo,
Quum in coelum evehor,
Ac cum mortuis iudicor,
Pro me scisse, Jesu mi,
In te oro abscondi.</p> |

A. B. NICHOLSON.

THE PACIFIC CABLE.

EVERYWHERE it is apparent that, the British Empire is being formed by a process of growth and development and there are many forces actively in operation, all tending to give it shape and strength and distinctive character. Lofty ideals are entertained by men of thought, experience and patriotism ; but the future is veiled from us, and we cannot foretell the precise form of relationship which will eventually be assumed by members of the British family of nations in so many meridians of longitude.

If the form of the development to be attained is not clearly foreseen, it can at least be said that the entire British people in all parts of the globe are inspired by a unity of sentiment, and that they are simultaneously moving onwards in one general direction. Progress is the watchword in all quarters. It is impossible not to recognize, the advancement perceptible in the colonies of the southern seas, and equally, the amazing vitality in British Africa. The Dominion of Canada plays an important part in moulding the destiny of her own people and in promoting more intimate relationships between the motherland and the colonies.

It is but thirty years since the scattered Provinces of British North America became federated in one government. The Dominion thus created inherited many remarkable advantages. It can lay claim to the most important geographical position, owing to its extension between the two great oceans ; a position which confers the only means of establishing under the British flag communications between the eastern and western territories of the globe. It enjoys the possession of vast fields of the richest virgin soil, with still unexplored mineral regions of immense extent and presumably of immense value. The population retains the high qualities of the foremost nations of western Europe from which it has sprung, and the wide expanse of unoccupied areas leaves ample room for a large accession to its number. These rich possessions of the Dominion give promise under wise guidance of a splendid future.

It soon became evident, that the development of a country continental in its extent exacted public works of corresponding magnitude. Lines of railway and telegraph were projected from ocean to ocean, and immediately after Confederation, both were proceeded with. In 1874 the policy of establishing the telegraph in advance of the railway was determined upon, and as a corollary to the trans-continental telegraph the proposal to extend the electric wire across the Pacific naturally followed. It can be said that ever since the telegraph reached the coast of British Columbia the Pacific cable has engaged public attention, and that the necessity of this undertaking has been repeatedly affirmed. It received recognition in the conference of representative colonial statesmen in London in 1887, in that of Ottawa in 1894, at telegraph and postal conferences in Australasia almost annually, and at various times by chambers of commerce at home and abroad.

The dominant idea with those who have most strongly advocated the establishment of a Pacific cable has been the unity of the Empire. They foresaw the difficulty of effecting any practical union between communities separated by distance, so long as they remained without the means of direct and cheap communication. At the same time it was plain to them that a telegraph across the ocean would foster trade and commerce—the life of an Empire such as ours.

Among the memorable gatherings of representative men, not the least important was the Conference of Premiers in London on the occasion of Her Majesty's Diamond Jubilee. Before these statesmen met, hopes had been entertained that some definite action would be determined for the inauguration of the scheme. Preparations had long been made for joint action. It was one of the chief objects set apart for special consideration at the conference of the Imperial and Australasian governments held at Ottawa in 1894. With this view, the Canadian government, agreeably to a resolution of the Conference, obtained much information on the subject, and transmitted it to all the governments interested in the projected work. Soon afterwards the Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Chamberlain) invited the Canadian and Australasian governments to send representatives to London for the purpose of taking part in an Imperial

Committee to be appointed specially to receive evidence and consider the project in every detail. The Committee first met on June 5th, 1896, and on January 5th, 1897 they reported the results of an exhaustive enquiry.

The proceedings of the committee and the conclusions which have been formed have not been made public. They have been repeatedly asked for, but as nothing transpired respecting the labours of the committee up to the Jubilee week, the opinion gained ground that when the Conference was concluded full information would be given to the public with the decision arrived at by the Imperial authorities and the Colonial premiers. In many quarters it was expected that action would on that occasion be taken, and that the inauguration of the cable would result as a practical outcome of the Queen's Jubilee.

The old proverb tells us that it is often the unexpected which comes to pass. The proceedings of the Conference of Premiers were first made known to the public by an article purporting to be published by authority in the *London Standard* of July 25th, and the subject of the Pacific cable is thus alluded to :

"The Conference left the Pacific cable scheme in mid-air, and it is very unlikely that anything more will be heard of it for a considerable time. The position was entirely changed by a proposal by the Eastern Extension Telegraph Company to lay an all British line from Western Australia across the Indian Ocean to Mauritius, thence connecting with the Cape and St. Helena and Ascension. . . . The Eastern Extension Company, it is understood, does not ask for a direct subsidy for the new lines, but seeks other concessions from the Australasian governments which if made will justify them in proceeding with the work."

In the account of the conference of premiers laid before the British Parliament, there is a reference, in two sentences, to the cable, no mention however is made of any proposal having been submitted by the Eastern Extension Company. But the premier of New South Wales (Mr. Reid) returned home from England through Canada, and being interviewed by reporters in Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver, confirmed the statement with respect to the proposal of the Eastern Extension Company. The character of the concessions asked by the company has not been made public, but it has been stated that they desire to obtain exclusive rights for Australia on condition that they connect the colonies with the Cape and lay a new cable from the Cape to

England *via* St. Helena, Ascension Island, Sierra Leone or Bathurst and Gibraltar. This scheme is put forward by the company as a substitute for the Pacific Cable.

Owing to the fact that telegraphic connection with the Cape is at present extremely defective the proposal of the company is undoubtedly of great importance to South Africa.

There are two telegraphic routes from England to Cape Colony. Both have landing stations at Lisbon, one passes through the Mediterranean to Alexandria, through Egypt to Suez, through the Red Sea to Aden, and from Aden the cable follows the east coast of Africa, touching among other points at Mozambique and Delagoa Bay in foreign territory. The other route leaves the first at Lisbon and follows the west coast of Africa, touching at some fourteen points; eight of which are under foreign flags, those of Portugal, France and Spain.

Interruptions are frequent on both routes. There is evidence to establish that during the past four years communication between England and the Cape has been broken many times, and that the aggregate interruptions have averaged in each year 75 days on the west coast route, and 87 days on the east coast route; showing that each cable is unavailable from six to seven days per month. While this refers to the average period that the cables have been thrown out of use, the durations of single interruptions have varied from one to 30 or 40 days. As both lines are liable to be broken at the same time serious inconveniences have not seldom resulted. Every one will remember this contingency occurring when the Transvaal difficulty was at its height. Intense anxiety was then caused during the cable interruption of eleven days, when South Africa was passing through an acute crisis in her history.

Obviously a new cable to the Cape is much required, and as the frequent interruptions to traffic by the two present routes is to a large extent owing to the fact that the cables are laid in the shallow water which prevails along the African coasts, they are in consequence exposed to accidents to which cables in deep waters are not subjected. That part of the proposal, to touch at St. Helena and Ascension, where the water is of ample depth, would give to the cable the necessary security and avoid the difficulties experienced on the present routes. It is, however,

not so clear that the northern half of the new cable would be so fortunate. By landing at Sierra Leone or Bathurst and Gibraltar and terminating in Cornwall, the cable of necessity would be laid for some distance in shallow seas, where it would be exposed to injury from various causes, and where too, the agent of an unfriendly nation, or indeed, an evil disposed fisherman, would have it in his power to destroy the cable with ease, totally unobserved. For hundreds of miles it would be exposed to such risks.

The question may be asked, would not this proposed new cable from England to the Cape with an extension to Australia be of general advantage? To such a question there is but one answer. It certainly would be of general as well as special advantage for the reason that we cannot have too many lines of communication. They are needed in the every-day business of trade and shipping, and moreover we must come to recognize that a complete telegraph system ramifying wherever Her Majesty's wide domain extends is an essential condition of the life and integrity of the British Empire. It is on this and on other grounds impossible to admit the claim of the Eastern Extension Company, that the proposal submitted by them is preferable to a trans-Pacific cable, and that it will render it unnecessary.

At the Colonial Conference of 1894, the outline of a telegraph system for the Empire was submitted. It was not confined to one side of the globe; the system projected, embraced and encircled its whole extent. The scheme was illustrated by a map of the world, with the chief cable lines laid down upon it. If the proceedings of the Conference be referred to, it will be seen that a trunk line of telegraph was projected from London through Canada to Australasia, with extensions to South Africa, India and China. It was shown that by the Canadian route all the chief British possessions on the four continents would be brought into electric touch with each other and with the Imperial centre in London. It was demonstrated, moreover, that this result could be accomplished without touching a single acre of foreign soil, and without traversing shallow seas where cables are most liable to injury from ship's anchors and other causes, and where they can be so easily fished up and destroyed. No fact can with greater confidence be affirmed than that the cables by the Cana-

dian route would be far less vulnerable than the existing cables, or those now projected by the Eastern Extension Company. But even if no advantage in this respect could be claimed, it requires no argument to prove that telegraphic connection between England and Australasia would be infinitely less subject to interruption from accident or wilful injury, by having the Canadian line established, in addition to the Eastern Extension lines, especially as the former would be on the opposite side of the globe and far removed from the immediate theatre of European complications.

It is not possible to believe that any one disassociated from, and uninfluenced by, the Eastern Extension Company, can view the proposed Canadian Pacific cable with disfavour. If it be important to strengthen the connection between the United Kingdom and the out-lying portions of the Empire, no one can question its necessity. But the Eastern Extension Company has never taken a friendly view of the Pacific cable. From the first it has been its determined opponent. The proceedings of the Colonial Conferences of 1887 and of 1894 give evidence of this fact. The report on the mission to Australia by the Canadian delegates gives some indication of the intense and persistent antagonism displayed by the Company and the manner in which its powerful influence has been employed to thwart the enterprise. It may not be an unwarranted surmise that the immediate purpose of the company in submitting to the Conference of Premiers their new proposal was to divert attention from the Pacific cable.

The Eastern Extension Company represents a combination of associated companies engaged in telegraph transmission between England and Australasia. The lines of the company comprise those of three amalgamated companies:

1. The "British Indian Extension," from Madras to Singapore, with a share capital of £460,000.
2. The "British Australian," from Singapore to Australia, with a share capital of £540,000.
3. The "China Submarine," from Singapore to Hong Kong and Shanghai, with a share capital of £525,000.

The combined share capital of these three companies amounted to £1,525,000. On their amalgamation the united

share capital, by a well-known process of "watering" to the extent of £472,500, was increased nominally to £1,997,500. The united company, since known as the Eastern Extension Australasia and China Telegraph Company (limited), has been exceedingly prosperous; it has paid 7 per cent. on the enlarged capital, equal to 9 per cent. on the original capital. An examination of the published statements establishes that it has in addition expended out of the profits earned, no less a sum than £1,571,540 on extensions and other productive works, and there remains unexpended and undivided to-day a reserve of surplus profits amounting to £804,193.

These figures establish that the Eastern Extension Company has become a remarkably profitable investment. It regularly pays good dividends, but the dividends are no guide to the profits made. It holds in reserve undivided profits far exceeding in amount the whole value of its cables between Asia and Australia. The accounts of the company for 1896 and the first half of 1897 show that the net profits actually earned during these periods amounted to 13 per cent. on the present capital, and 17 per cent. on the capital prior to its being watered.

The Company is unwilling to have this state of affairs changed. They know perfectly well that the telegraphic traffic is steadily increasing, and that as the traffic grows the profits will become still greater. It is easy, therefore, to understand why the company has never viewed with friendly feeling the proposed Pacific cable. Its managers are not willing to divide the business with the new line. They must retain it entirely in their possession. They have secured a rich monopoly, and their desire is to make it even more profitable and to strengthen and perpetuate it.

The Pacific cable has been projected in no spirit of hostility to any company or to any country. It has been advocated as a means of extending to the whole Empire the advantages derivable from the geographical position of the Dominion. Canada offers the connecting link in an Imperial chain of telegraphs encircling the globe. When the project is completed, it will bring the mother country into direct electrical connection with every one of the great possessions of the crown in both hemispheres without touching the soil of any foreign power. Thus, it cannot fail in

a high degree to promote Imperial unity. Indeed, it is difficult to conceive how a perfect union, or any union of the whole is possible without union between the parts. The whole Empire is in strong sympathy with the aims and aspirations which a few years back were limited to a few men of advanced thought. The historical event of last June has shown to the world that "the British people are one people animated by one spirit." It is recognized that we are approaching the period when new relations may be established between the United Kingdom and those younger British communities beyond the seas, known in past history as colonies, but which are passing from colonial tutelage to a higher national status. In order to promote these closer relations, what is more desirable, what more necessary, than that each and all be connected by the appliances which art and science have devised? Canada stands first among the British communities of the outer Empire. Scarcely second to Canada we look forward, in no long period, to welcome the kindred Dominion of Australia comprising under one federal government half a dozen colonies, each possessing great potentialities. What more in harmony with the spirit of the British people than that Canada and Australia be brought in close communion? Is it not indispensable to vital public interest that those two great units of the Empire—the island continent in the South Pacific and British North America, should possess the means of instantaneous communication, one with the other?

The proposition of the Eastern Extension Company submitted to the Conference of Premiers has no such purpose in view. Its object is indeed the very opposite. While the consolidation of the Empire demands that the Queen's subjects in Canada and Australasia shall possess all the advantages which the closest telegraphic connection can effect, the policy which animates that company would cause these communities to remain severed. Is such a policy to be commended? Does not the Eastern Extension Company when persistently exercising its manifold and widely ramified influence to keep Canada and Australia disunited, assume an attitude of hostility to both countries and to Imperial unity?

In the interests of the Eastern Extension Company the Pacific cable has been declared to be impracticable; its

cost has been greatly exaggerated; it has been denounced as a work which could not be maintained without burdensome subsidies; it has been stigmatized as inimical to telegraphy and trade; and it has been decried and misrepresented in every possible manner. The explanation is to be found in the fact that the company is unwilling to relinquish its monopoly and to rest satisfied in the future with a reasonable return for capital invested. On this point the writer is tempted to quote a single paragraph from his address at the Colonial Conference of 1894 as given in the proceedings (page 85).

"The progress and well-being of Canada, Australasia and the Empire cannot be retarded in order that the lucrative business of a private company may remain without change. Even if the chairman of the Eastern Extension Company succeeded in converting us to his commercial ethics, that the profits of the monopoly he represents must be maintained inviolate, it does not follow that the project of a Pacific cable would not be carried out in some form, even if Canada and Australasia abandon it. There are indeed unmistakable signs that a Pacific cable may shortly be carried out by France and the United States. We all know that France has already completed a section of 800 miles at the southern end, and the United States has recently expended \$25,000 in making an elaborate survey of about one-third the whole distance from San Francisco (to the Hawaiian Islands.) With a rival line in foreign hands, it is easy to see that the Eastern Extension would gain nothing, while the Empire would lose much."

With respect to the objections raised by the Eastern Extension Company they have been completely refuted. The very best evidence shows beyond all question that the project is perfectly feasible, that the cable should be established as a state work, that so established the revenue from business obtainable will be ample to meet every charge, including working expenses, maintenance, renewal, interest on cost and sinking fund to replace capital; that in fact the cable can be established in the most satisfactory manner, and that all its advantages can be attained without any cost whatever to the tax-payer. That the prospects are of this character is attributable to these facts, viz.:

1. As a state work the capital employed would be obtained at the lowest possible rate of interest.

2. The capital would be limited to the necessities of actual expenditure in establishing the work; there would be no possibility of enlarging the capital account by adding "promotion expenses" or by "watering stock" in any form.

3. No dividend would require to be declared, or bonus paid. Revenue would only have to meet ordinary charges, including interest on the actual cost at a low rate, possibly $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

4. Remunerative traffic which would be controlled by the Australasian government already exists.

5. Such traffic is continually growing, and it is difficult to assign a limit to its growth.

6. The facilities created and the reduced charges would open up a new and profitable business across the Pacific which would be subject to the new line.

Such being the case, the question may be asked, is there any reason other than the opposition of the Eastern Extension Company why the establishment of this important national work should be farther delayed? It must be admitted that the Pacific cable in operation would put an end to the monopoly of the Eastern Extension Company and diminish the immense profits it enjoys. As, however, less than half the whole traffic would prove remunerative to the Pacific cable, there would remain ample business to the Company to yield a good return for the capital invested.

In the memorandum laid before the House of Commons last July by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, it is distinctly indicated that, while the Home government is willing to co-operate with Canada and the Australian Colonies, the Imperial authorities are unable to see the way to take the initiative, and that they "now await definite proposals from the Colonies interested before proceeding further in the matter." It unfortunately happens that the Australasian Colonies remain under the disadvantage of being disunited politically and they are not all equally in favour of the Pacific cable, Western Australia and South Australia being somewhat in sympathy with the Eastern Extension Company. New Zealand, New South Wales, Queensland and Victoria desire to have the cable laid on the Canadian route. As the traffic to make it a profitable undertaking would have its source chiefly in these colonies, and moreover the land lines within each colony are owned by each respective government, they have it in their power to control the trans-Pacific telegraphic traffic to the extent required to make the cable a profitable undertaking.

At this distance it is not easy to understand why these four colonies do not agree to take some definite line of action. It is now close on six months since the Premiers met in London, and as far as known they have not seen their way to agree on any joint proposal, owing doubtless to unexplained local difficulties.

Under these circumstances it is not improper to consider if there be any duty or obligation resting on us in Canada. The Dominion is now looked up to as the elder brother in the British family of kindred nationalities. If as Canadians we have faith in our destiny as no inconsiderable element of the great Empire, are we not called upon again to take the initiative? The mother country awaits a proposal. It cannot well come from disunited Australasia. If we are to be brought within speaking distance of the kindred communities in the southern seas, the first impulse must come from ourselves. Shall the opportunity which circumstances have presented be seized and another proof given to the world that "the Canadian government and people are determined, in all ways, to promote Imperial unity."

SANDFORD FLEMING.

THE PULPIT, THE PLATFORM AND THE PRESS.

ALTHOUGH there are three items in the heading of this paper, only two things are discussed in it—speech and writing, or the printed page and the living voice—the scope and functions of each, and their mutual relations. The contrast is really between reading and listening, and so the term “press” may be taken to embrace written as well as printed matter—all communications addressed to the eye; while either the word “pulpit” or “platform” would in itself be too limited to stand for communications addressed to the ear, yet both together may be held to reach the sphere occupied by the living voice.

The measure of influence exercised by the printed page, as contrasted with the living voice, depends much upon the character of the communications to be made, and even more upon the degree of mental culture attained by those whose minds are to be operated upon. If it is the understanding that is to be reached, and instruction that is to be imparted, in the case of educated persons, the printed page is the channel of communication to be preferred. The tutored mind having its own time to dwell on the subject brought before it, when the eye is the medium for conveying ideas, definiteness and conciseness of expression are merits in the style. Those not trained to close thinking, on the other hand, profit more by having the subject expounded by the living voice; but they demand at the same time that it shall be treated copiously and with extended statement. Speech is effective in the concrete; the printed page in the abstract.

Popular instruction is, therefore, better conveyed by the platform than by the press. There is less strain upon the attention in listening to a discourse adapted to the capacities and requirements of the half-trained masses than in their reading through an equal amount of printed matter; besides the saving of labour gained by one person's virtually doing the reading for the whole of his audience. The methods of elementary and intermediate education in our day proceed upon the principle of getting the pupils to advance in masses and with equal step, the

teachers doing the large share of the work in the way of demonstrations on the blackboard and talks to the classes. And even the students in the universities are dealt with to a considerable extent in the same way. The degree of culture they have received does not as yet make it easier or better for them to gain knowledge by reading than by hearing. At all events, taken as a whole, they stand in need of the impulse to thought and research, imparted to them by the professors' lectures.

But while the many are moved to a higher mark of attainment than they would otherwise reach, by the demonstrations of teachers and professors, the real students—the select company who do their own thinking and make their own researches—prefer the quiet hour with their books and profit more by it. And one cannot help feeling that this select company would be larger to-day if learning were not made so easy as it is. The boy who, in the old log school-house, before the days of blackboards, was left to his own unaided efforts to find his way through “the sums” in Walkingham’s arithmetic, and had to study the rules laid down for his guidance, aided by the illustrative examples, came out of the process, if he succeeded at all, a far surer arithmetician than the modern pupil who has been helped from the teacher’s platform right along from simple addition to the intricacies of the cube root. He who grubbed his way through an edition of Cæsar’s Commentaries, which was furnished with neither note nor comment, with only his grammar and his lexicon in his hands, will never in after life get stuck when asked to read that author, *ad aperturam libri*. Scribners’ Sons are issuing a splendid work on the botany of the United States and Canada, which ought to make that delightful branch of science popular, since every plant described is also delineated; but while more persons are likely to take up this attractive study on account of the comparative ease with which it can now be prosecuted, it may be doubted whether more thorough botanists, if fewer of them, were not trained under former conditions, when they had to determine species by the written descriptions of them given by Gray, Wood and others. The independent student wants to be left to work out his own salvation by the help of the printed page; but he belongs to the select few. The masses, formed

into large classes in schools and colleges, depend for their instruction upon demonstrations from the platform.

It follows that if all persons were independent thinkers and close students, the printed page, for purposes of instruction, would have a greatly enlarged sphere. And we may hope that in the millennial days in store for mankind, when one shall not need to say to his neighbour, know anything, every person will be able to make his way through the intricacies of learning and do his own thinking. Then the eye will be the great channel through which knowledge will make its way to the mind. But, for the present, the bulk of men and women trust to their ears more than to their eyes for obtaining ideas; although the advancement of learning must undoubtedly be increasing the number of those who prefer the leisurely and quiet reading of treatises on any subject, regarding which they desire information, to obtaining that information from addresses and speeches, although the latter may be the easier method, and in a sense the pleasanter, through the exciting influence of the living voice. When the day of more advanced culture arrives, the platform will be relatively a less potent agency than it is to-day, as a means of imparting instruction.

These remarks have regard to the domain of higher thought—the true science of things, as it is aimed at in efforts to instruct mankind in the fundamental principles of truth. But there is a sphere which the press has made pre-eminently its own, and which it is filling to the highest advantage of the race. It has become the great newsgatherer and newsdisseminator. In this respect it has no rival. Of old the best the people could do was to meet for gossip in the market place. Not so very long ago, gentlemen resorted to their clubs as a centre, in which they might learn the latest news of the day. But now the morning or evening paper furnishes us with details of the latest events that have occurred during the last twenty-four hours throughout the civilized world. This fact makes the daily press wield an immense power. It goes with its budget of news, and with its statement of opinions, into every corner of the land; and if the newspaper is conducted with enterprise and ability, it cannot fail to mould public opinion to its will. The endless variety of its matter, meeting the views and wishes of readers of every

description, taken in connection with the vastness of the constituency which it reaches, puts the daily press, as a means of shaping the views of the great mass of the people on public questions, far beyond the pulpit and the platform. Assuming that pains are taken to secure the utmost accuracy as to alleged facts, and that no opinion which is not fair shall be expressed, too high a value cannot be put upon our newspapers; they are one of the most potent factors in promoting the progress of mankind in these latter days. And any one who has a message for the general community had better try and get it delivered through the agency of the press. He thereby will obtain an audience of a thousand for every one he can reach with the living voice, on the platform or in the pulpit. No discerning man will despise or neglect the press, but will make such use of it as he can, for getting the principles of truth and righteousness before the people.

Of course, it is taken for granted that the aim of the conductors of the press is high. This is perhaps assuming too much. Respectable journals strive to secure accuracy in all matters of fact, and to set forth fairly what is matter of opinion. But there is one particular in which newspapers, which are the organs of parties in the state, cannot be trusted to speak the truth; and that is, in their criticism of their political opponents. Would that proprietors and conductors of these daily messengers to the homes of the people realized how weighty the obligation upon them is to tell the truth on all occasions and about all persons. The press is very fond of lecturing the pulpit, but here the pulpit may be allowed to return the office. If the daily newspaper would be perfect, if it would earn unqualified commendation, let it act on Christ's principles; and instead of twisting the words and aspersing the motives of those whose views differ from its own, give others the most credit it can. If political papers would only evince sweet charity towards their opponents they would leave nothing to be desired. But as things are, it is dreadful to think of the criminal responsibility of those who circulate the poison of falsehood in the minds of a hundred thousand readers. Speak of bribery and corruption; for one person whose independence is sapped by getting money or his vote, there are thousands whose minds are bribed by the

falsehood of party newspapers. And yet the journal that is doing its best day by day, by deliberate bearing of false witness against its neighbour, to get people to change their views and their votes, is loud in its denunciation of the parliamentary candidate or his agent, to whom is brought home the comparatively less heinous offence of giving a poor man half a day's wages, it may be, in order that he may not lose that much from the income needed for the support of his family, by discharging his duty as a citizen in depositing his ballot.

And besides this temptation to which the political press is exposed, there is another one regarding which the pulpit dare not keep silent: it is the desire to obtain a large circulation and so win wealth and power by pandering, it may be, to vicious tastes. Sensationalism is the bane of public journalism; and every one who has the power to exercise any influence over these organs of popular opinion ought to exert it to the utmost to endeavour to secure that only clean newspapers shall be issued from the press of Canada. And what holds true of the daily journal, is equally true of all publications sent forth in book form. Wholesome literature is a cheerer and sweetener of life; but poison lurks between the pages of too many of the popular publications of the day. Books as well as newspapers, are got up to sell, the first aim of their authors being to command a multitude of readers, the ruinous effects upon virtue and morality resulting to those who peruse publications making light of the ten commandments, being indeed discounted by their writers and publishers, as elements ensuring the success of their ventures. The press is, therefore, not an unmixed good. It is a potent engine of destruction as well as of salvation; and it behooves all that can help to secure an elevated tone in the books given to the public, to do what in them lies to encourage those bookmakers and publishers who resist all temptations to make money at the cost of what is pure and lovely and of good report.

But granting the potency of the press, and conceding the splendid work which it is accomplishing, in promoting the material and intellectual interests of mankind, there is a sphere which it cannot fill, and which is filled adequately only by the pulpit and the platform. Whenever there is occasion for moving men the living voice excels the pen. Moses modestly pleaded,

when the great commission was given him : " I am not eloquent ; I am slow of speech, and of a slow tongue " ; but whatever his natural defects in this regard may have been, God made powerful use of his tongue, in stirring up his countrymen on many occasions. The test of successful oratory is the measure in which it moves the hearers to action ; applying this test, the great prophet of the Exodus was in possession of the secret. " He spake in the ears of all the assembly of Israel," on more than one occasion, with such effect that he swayed them entirely from their own purpose to his. Æschines, the rival of Demosthenes for influence with the Athenians, evoked plaudits from the multitude for his finely turned periods ; but when Demosthenes had concluded his speech their cry was : " Lead us against Philip." Great popular movements can be got under way only by bringing the people together in crowds to listen to gifted speakers. The personal magnetism, which is an essential attribute of a true orator, passes from him to his audience, and brings them into sympathy with him. Every tone and gesture tells ; and what is of scarcely less account, where there is a multitude, enthusiasm becomes infectious and easily passes from one to another. So any public speaker is conscious of the inspiration that is begotten of numbers ; as he is moved by the presence of a multitude, so every individual comes more or less under the spell of the crowd around him.

There was much and powerful writing in the British press, prior to the emancipation of the West Indian slaves ; but it was the persuasive speeches of Wilberforce and his co-workers in the cause, that brought the nation at last to resolve to make the sacrifice required in recognition of the principle that all men who have not forfeited it by their crimes have a right to liberty. It was the passionate oratory of Wendell Phillips and the electrifying accents of Henry Ward Beecher, heard on many a platform, which made it possible for Abraham Lincoln in due time to proclaim freedom to the negroes of the south. Gladstone made Britain ring from John O'Groats to Land's End, with the Bulgarian atrocities, in 1876, his magnificent speeches against the unspeakable Turk, delivered throughout the length and breadth of the land, winning for him once more the premiership and sending D'Israeli into the cold shades of opposition. Dr. Chalmers' printed sermon on the cruel-

ties of field sports may be read in cold blood ; but when it was spoken the people present were carried completely off their feet, and one man is reported to have been so moved by the graphic picture the great preacher had drawn of the excitements of the chase, that, oblivious of his surroundings, he cried out "Tallyho." Speech cannot be dispensed with when the emotions of men have to be roused. One may read, in the seclusion of home, without being stirred, a printed report of an appeal, which, addressed to him in the presence of others, would have produced tenfold the effect. One reason of this is that the spoken style is essentially different from the written one. Tribunes of the people instinctively employ a method of address which goes directly to the people's hearts and evokes their sympathies. They employ the language of ordinary conversation, which is simple and direct, elaborate, involved sentences are impossible to them ; and they are indifferent to the fact whether they end their sentences with a preposition or not. They study effect rather than dignity. The first consideration is to hit the mark of the people's attention. Perhaps the most conspicuous example in our day of an effective platform style, as contrasted with the deliberate written style which is to come under the eye, is furnished by the speeches of John Bright. Lord John Russell, in a former generation, was master of a similar simple, direct style, by which he commanded the attention of popular assemblies in a way that scarcely any of his contemporaries could. This is a point well worthy of the consideration of teachers and preachers. In preparing addresses and discourses much will depend upon the conscious attitude of the mind. One may, in writing cultivate the spoken style, if, during the process of composition, the ulterior thought is that it is to be spoken, not read. The audience is in such a case present in imagination, and the style will naturally adapt itself accordingly. But if the composer is thinking of a discourse which is to be read, and perhaps used again after an interval of years—if it is not to be ultimately printed—the thought of this ultimate destination of the piece, in the mind of the writer, will unconsciously give a complexion to its style. The man to move the people, however, even if he has previously conned over the line of thought he is to pursue, composes most effectively on his feet, and when face to face with his audience. He instinc-

tively feels their pulse, takes in the situation with a flash, gauges the tastes and capacities of his hearers and naturally adopts the manner of speaking that places him in full accord with them, and easily wins them to his views.

And if speech is an indispensable organ of persuasion in moving mankind in masses with regard to ordinary questions of human interest, it is much more so when we come to consider man's attitude respecting the most important matters affecting him. His mind is turned away from God—he is averse to spiritual things, and so if his temper is to be changed, such change can be brought about only by the enthusiasm begotten of earnest, persuasive speech. "We, then, are ambassadors for Christ," wrote the Apostle to the Corinthians, "as though God did beseech you by us, we in Christ's stead pray you to be reconciled to God." It is the preacher's function to impress men with the supreme importance of the things of the spirit. He must lay himself out above every thing to persuade men,—not so much to instruct them. The period is long past when parsons were the only "clerks," monopolizing the learning of the community. The press has brought instruction on every conceivable religious theme within the reach of all. But knowledge does not necessarily imply faith, much less obedience. To secure attention to the things that belong to men's peace, they need to be commanded, rebuked, exhorted. A first qualification for being an adequate messenger from God is that men shall themselves have had experience of the power of divine truth to deliver from sin. The apostle Paul was a splendid embodiment of passionate earnestness and sincerity, which gave him vast power in addressing men. He felt it to be his mission to lead souls to God; and in effecting his purpose he did not speak to them "in the words which man's wisdom teacheth, but which the Holy Ghost teacheth." Paul wrote tenderly and persuasively; but we gather that his spoken was different from his written style. It is true it was adversaries whom he represents as saying of him: "His letters are weighty and strong; but his bodily presence is weak and his speech of no account." But I think there is an admission of his own which implies that for some reason or other there was a contrast between his letters and his addresses: "I, Paul, myself, intreat you by the meekness and gentleness of Christ, I who in

your presence am lowly among you, but being absent am of good courage toward you." Did this difference arise from defective utterance or from the style he employed? The specimens of his elocution furnished by Luke in the Acts of the Apostles would scarcely justify the conclusion that Paul was not fluent of speech ; so that it seems fair to infer rather that his ordinary addresses were plain and simple, because men's minds had to travel fast in listening to him ; while his letters had rhetorical strength, since they were to be read and pondered at leisure. In those written communications he has laid the people of God under lasting obligations ; but it is clear that he counted it his great work to preach, not to write letters. " Belief cometh of hearing, and hearing by the Word of Christ." " How shall they believe in Him whom they have not heard? and how shall they hear without a preacher?" In this domain every auxiliary force is needed to make the message effective, because the natural heart is closed against it. The tone, the gesture, the living presence of the speaker, are all factors to be counted in. The enthusiasm engendered by numbers is not to be despised either, although the Lord's promise, " where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them," shows that the conditions, so far as the assembly of Christians is concerned, are not altogether the same as those governing ordinary platform performances. But the very term "ecclesia," by which Christians are collectively designated, indicates that its work was to be done by co-operation ; its force was to depend upon meetings, in which they were to "provoke one another unto love and good works." The gospel message is to be delivered mainly by preaching to multitudes, and those to whom it is sent are to "hear" it. One sometimes comes across disparaging remarks upon the pulpit as if it were an effete institution. That it cannot become so long as "sin reigns unto death," and men need to have salvation offered to them. To the undiscerning "preaching" may be "foolishness," as it was to most people in the apostle's day ; but it still proves, as it did then, "the power of God and the wisdom of God unto salvation," to as many as believe. It is Christ's own institution, and as both preachers and hearers, when they meet in solemn assembly, may not only count upon all the forces which unite in the case of the platform speaker and his

audience, but also on special help from heaven, the pulpit must be very inefficiently manned, indeed, if it loses its power. The promise of God goes with the preaching of the Word, and that promise has been made good in the past, so that the pulpit cannot be displaced. No other agency can do the work assigned it.

But there is really no rivalry between the "pulpit" or "platform," and the "press". Each has its own sphere, each is complementary of the other. Friendly co-operation is what should be aimed at, each rather the handmaid than the adversary of the other. Honest and kindly criticism from each to the other does good all round; but ill-natured depreciation or savage denunciation, each of the other, only harms all. Let pulpit, platform and press join hands in advocating all that is true and pure and good, and then shall they together prove "mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds."

ROBERT CAMPBELL.

CURRENT EVENTS.

IT is difficult to forecast the result of what is practically the invasion of China by Germany. The forces on the board are so eccentric that their combined action may produce anything. To many the Emperor William is simply a lunatic, but there is method in his madness. His immediate success in the West Indies and in the farthest East is likely to secure a majority in the Reichstag for his darling scheme of a big navy, whereas a short time ago every one prognosticated a defeat for him. The murder in China of two Roman Catholic missionaries happened opportunely, and he made the most of it by demanding the erection of a cathedral as an essential of the reparation to be offered. What could be more grateful to the solid centre in the Reichstag? Their Emperor has now more right to the title of defender of the

faith than Henry VIII. had. And what openings for German trade and manufactures may not his bold policy secure? No wonder that there is a popular clamour in his favour. The question, however, is, will the sober, second thought of the people approve his action? We may safely answer in the negative, unless the German character has greatly changed of late. Hence the manifest uneasiness of the organs of public opinion which back him most defiantly, and their confident declarations that Britain intends to join in the game of plunder. The wish is father to the thought. That is not our way of doing things. We opened up China by defending rights, and as these were the common rights of mankind all nations gained by our action. China again disregarded our treaty rights, but after successful war open ports for the trade of the world was the chief demand made on the vanquished. This, in spite of the notorious political character of the Chinese, summed up thus by Lord Elgin, in 1858, after negotiating the treaty of Tient-Sin :—"They yielded nothing to reason, but everything to fear;" an epigram all the more striking when coming from a man who had gone out to the East regarding the Chinese as the oppressed and his countrymen as the oppressors. True, we took Hong-Kong, but what was it at the time, and what is it now? It was a barren rock, with a narrow strip of malarial coast at its base. Now, it is the Liverpool of the East, a city where a quarter of a million Chinese live in comparative comfort, and where German, French, American and British firms do business with the South of China with equal freedom. That is an object lesson of what is meant by an open port. Britain has greater commercial interests in China than all her rivals, but she asks for nothing but freedom of commerce. She has no intention of abandoning that policy for one of piratical invasion, even on so huge and helpless a prey as China. If the United States made common cause with her in pursuing this enlightened policy, Germany would be shamed out of her aggression, and Christendom would not stand condemned, as it now does to a great extent, in the eyes of the yellow races.

So far, the results of the frontier fighting in the grisly mountain passes between India and Afghanistan have not been encouraging to the Forward School. The success has been inde-

cisive, and the cost enormous. In Sir Auckland Colvin's excellent article on the subject in the *Nineteenth Century* for December, the main point is not to combat the strategic argument that we must control the passes if we are to keep our engagements to preserve the independence of the Ameer of Afghanistan, but to prove that such a policy is Imperial, and not purely Indian, and therefore that the cost of it should not be imposed on India alone. This, he shows, was the bed-rock of Lord Lawrence's policy when he declared the Indus to be the proper boundary of India, and economy to be the true watchword of our administration. No scheme of a scientific or strategic frontier could be sound in his eyes "which was not consistent with the progress of India, the development of its resources, and the contentment and loyalty of the people." Any policy which spends the revenues of India on other objects not only arrests all schemes of internal improvement, as the people of India are poor and the limit of taxation has been reached, but is essentially unjust. This is the real argument against the Forward policy. Let its advocates secure the consent of the Imperial Government to pay for the conquest and administration of the territories beyond the Indus. They know that, placed between that alternative and telling the Ameer that he must maintain his own independence, the House of Commons would not hesitate. The Ameer and the frontier savages would be left to guard or to break their own heads, while Britain devoted herself to fostering the loyalty of three hundred millions of industrious people by securing to them the blessings of peace, order, justice and industrial development. The world has never seen such a marvellous spectacle as the triumph of civilization in formerly distracted India; and as British rule is necessary, until Christian forces slowly work out a new social organization to replace the old iron framework of caste, nothing should be allowed to injure its basis, the only possible basis being the general content of the people.

When one thinks of the marvellous energy with which the railway has been steadily pushed north from the diamond pits of Kimberley into Rhodesia, the formal opening of the line at Bulawayo, without the presence of the prime mover and manager—Mr. Rhodes—seems hard. It was the play of *Hamlet* with Ham-

let's part left out, or the driving of the last spike of the Canadian Pacific Railway by some one else than Smith, Stephen or Van Horne. But in this we see only one sign of the Nemesis that will dog him as long as he lives. His absence from a function at which he would otherwise have been the foremost figure indicated illness or good taste on his part, and also in all probability good sense on the part of Sir Alfred Milner. Sir Alfred says little, but he is so far doing the right things all the time. It was permissible on such an occasion to pay a generous tribute to Rhodes, as well as to praise the enterprise and industry of the settlers; but it is to be hoped that he is freeing the Colonial Office from all illusions as to the possibility of Rhodes ever becoming again the Premier of Cape Colony or a force that can make for the union of Boer and British in South Africa. The Boer is what the Dutchman was in the 17th century, or what the Scottish Lowlander is in politics: slow to give his confidence, and if once deceived certain not to trust again the man who has betrayed him. He has, too, in John Henry Hofmeyr, a spokesman without reproach; a statesman who desires neither office nor title nor wealth for himself; who is determined to keep his own skirts clean, and who seeks only the welfare of his country. He has recently given an interview to the reporter of a London journal, and the British public should be able to learn from his straight speech how honest men regard Rhodes—"He has deceived us. He deceived me personally. How can he be trusted again in public life? It is impossible here in the colony." Hofmeyr, too, as might have been expected, has been disappointed with Mr. Chamberlain's utterances, and his conception of what is involved in public and personal honour. Emphatically he says, "There can be no trust by the Dutch community in the Colonial Office as long as these principles prevail there. The man we expected to act as an impartial judge of Rhodes turns round even before the trial and receives him as a friend. You punish the lesser man and commend the guilty principal." That is hard hitting, but deserved. A portion of the British press has been influenced by the millionaire, and a vocal section of the public applauds him, but the universal silent vote has pronounced its verdict, and Mr. Chamberlain by trying to muffle its force has only hurt himself. South African federation is sure to come,

but its coming will only be delayed by the interference of Mr. Rhodes. Even constitutional agitation, if he is behind it, will be suspected. Every public man and newspaper supporting his scheme must have exceptionally clean records, or the charge that they are bought will be at once made and generally believed, and their arguments subjected to a heavy discount.

Australian federation is also sure to come, and it is likely to come all the sooner, in consequence of the gathering of the vultures round what is supposed to be the carcase of China. The native Australian is the most pronounced specimen of bumptiousness known to man, simply because there is no strong power near to keep him in check. India is near, but it is part of the Empire. So is China, but it does not count, except in the labour market, from which it can be excluded. But, with the fleets of Germany, France, India and Japan gathering in the northern seas, and plans of conquest and colonization in the air, it is high time for the island-continent to remember that she owes her immunity from invasion hitherto to her being part of the Empire, and that effective political organization is now an absolute necessity. When the French Foreign Office asked, half a century ago, what part of Australia Britain claimed, Lord John Russell answered, "The whole of it." The answer sufficed them. It would be laughed at now, should war ensue. The odd thing is that Queensland, the colony most in need of federation, is the one that opposes; but Queensland considers bumptiousness the greatest of the virtues.

President McKinley's messages differ from Cleveland's as chalk from cheese. Whether you agreed with the views of President Cleveland or not, you felt that he was doing his own thinking, and that he was an independent force that had to be reckoned with. His style was of the laboured and rather stilted kind, considered by the half-educated to be fine writing, very different from the purity and nervous simplicity which seemed to grow with President Lincoln's spiritual growth, but notwithstanding that defect, a real man was seen through it, who, as far as he had the power, could be depended on to do right and to veto measures he thought wrong. President McKinley belongs to a different class altogether. He simply reflects the views of

his party, and these views never rise above party expediency. His literary style is scarcely less laboured than Mr. Cleveland's, and he has in addition quite a gift for pharisaical platitudes. These commonplaces of American orations are evidently considered necessary, though the nation might well dispense with them by this time. So might a President who had an adequate sense of the greatness of his office.

Regarding Cuba, his position is the same as Cleveland's, with the addition of a patronizing tone, most offensive to a haughty nation, and not likely to accomplish anything except to stiffen the backs of the Spaniards and make them ready to overthrow their government should it yield a single point, and to recall Don Carlos, who is free from responsibility for the rebellion, as well as for the military mismanagement by which it has been prolonged. He turns up the whites of his eyes at the idea of annexing Cuba, yet urges the annexation of Hawaii without consulting its inhabitants. The explanation is that he believes that the requisite majority in the Senate has been secured to settle the Hawaiian business. Possibly he may find himself mistaken. It seemed to the American people so small a matter that it was left in the hands of the politicians, but they are beginning to see that it means the beginning of a new policy on the merits of which they have not pronounced, and besides that it has some questionable and rather squalid aspects. If the two-thirds majority required for ratifying treaties cannot be had, open debate in both Houses will be required, and as discussion would be certain to injure the party, even if it did not defeat the measure, a halt may be called. Far from objecting to the United States taking possession of Hawaii, Britain would rejoice, if the people took the step with their eyes open, and as indicating thereby that they intended to concern themselves hereafter with general, and not merely continental interests. Monroeism was good doctrine for its day, though even in its day it would have been waste paper without the backing of Britain; but Monroe did not speak the last word for the people of the United States.

The Canadian Parliament will probably meet earlier than usual. It should always meet in January and transact its business in the three winter months. Otherwise, the representatives

of the chief industries of the people are practically excluded from it and none but lawyers need apply. This promises to be the first critical session for the ministry. Their supporters from Quebec Province are not altogether happy, and the grounds of discontent indicate that the battle is between "kites and crows." Mr. Tarte is attacked because of \$30,000 given to his sons for the purchase of a paper by a gentleman interested in the Drummond Counties Railway. The answer is to the effect that his opponents are working in the interest of the gentleman who gave \$100,000, or what Mr. Pacaud called "a gold mine," to the Mercier government for a consideration. We are told that this is the way in which things are done in Quebec. If so, the sooner we know it the better. Meanwhile it is a calumny on the Province to say anything of the kind.

Sir Wilfred Laurier's official letter to Mr. Foster on the sealing question contained all that should be said on the subject, and a little more. If the catch during the spring months averages only six to eight thousand seals compensation could be asked only on the basis of that number, and we should not haggle over such a trifle. But, on the main point, that all matters in dispute should be considered by a Commission, there can be no difference of opinion. The lives of fish in the lakes are as worthy consideration as the lives of seals in the ocean, and the grievances of Canadian citizens, whether working men or hospital nurses, excluded from fields formerly open to them, while thousands of Americans are flocking to our gold-fields, call for as prompt settlement as the grievances of female seals and bachelor pups, even though their ownership is claimed by rich friends of the government. No one denies that the regulations instituted by the Paris award for the protection of the seals are inadequate, and that these can be revised with more light on the subject than was attainable four years ago. The industry now is not very profitable for either the Alaska company or the Canadian sealers. The only people who make steady profit out of it at present are the London fur-dressers and fur-dealers; but though Britain is thus the party most interested in the permanence of the industry, she alone makes no trouble. It is to her simply a question of Canadian rights, which will be defended just as the rights of every

part of the Empire must be defended. When Mr. Foster pleads that we should surrender our rights or be called "unneighborly," he simply shows that the Almighty has not endowed him with the slightest sense of humour.

Sir Sandford Fleming's article on the Pacific cable in this number of the *QUARTERLY* throws light on the reasons why the Eastern Extension Company opposed an enterprise important to the Empire in peace and essential in time of war. It is the old story of the insane greed of corporations and their callousness to the interests of the community. The Eastern Extension octopus is not satisfied with the fortunes already made, and can no more bear the thought of losing any part of the traffic than a tiger would consent to share blood with its companions of the jungle. What is the duty of Canada in the premises? The Colonial office has said that the initiative in the matter of the cable must come from Canada or Australia. This is a perfectly reasonable position, in view of all the facts of the case; and as divided Australia cannot act, it is for Canada to step forward and show that its imperial sentiment is genuine. We have lost nothing; we have on the contrary gained immensely by the two steps already taken, and it would be the same with this third step. Let Canada offer to lay the cable, if Britain will guarantee the capital and New Zealand and the Australias guarantee the traffic, which they can easily do as the land lines are under their control. Let the initiative thus come from Canada. We shall get the cable and the tax payer will not be called on to pay a cent. Canada would then be in the position telegraphically, as regards the Empire, in which nature has placed her geographically. She is the keystone of the arch. An impetus will be given to intercolonial trade, to the development of national spirit and to the cause of imperial unity. That is the direction in which we have set our faces. We must go forward, for to halt now between two opinions, as if we were undecided as to our course, would be fatal to self respect and to national welfare.

G.

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THE JESUIT RELATIONS.

IN these days of cablegrams, telegrams and shorthand the idea of perusing sixty octavo volumes of three hundred pages each, devoted to the sayings and doings of a few members of a religious society in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in one quarter of the globe, seems at first sight rather overpowering. Yet Mr. Reuben Gold Thwaites, the secretary of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, evidently expected us to read all these volumes when he sent his agent to solicit our subscription to "*The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents; Travels and Explorations of the French Canadian Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610-1791.*" We undertook the task when we subscribed, and now we can say we have read eight of the series with interest, with pleasure and we trust with profit.*

Parkman tells us that "few passages of history are more striking than those which record the efforts of the earlier French Jesuits to convert the Indians—they are of dramatic and philosophic interest. The *Relations* appeal equally to the spirit of religion and the spirit of romantic adventure." Bancroft says, "The history of Jesuit missions is connected with the origin of every celebrated town in the annals of French America. Not a cape was turned, not a river entered, but a Jesuit led the way." (A little inexact is the latter statement.) Kip writes, "There is no page of our country's history more touching and romantic than that which records the labours and sufferings of the Jesuit

*This paper was written November, 1897.

missionaries." Winsor speaks of "that series of wonderful letters known as the *Jesuit Relations* ; while our own Kingsford remarks that " no newspaper correspondent ever made greater efforts more favorably to represent the cause he was advertising. The whole of the *Relations* are marked by extraordinary literary ability."

In these degenerate times when the accursed thirst for gold is the prime mover in the opening up and colonising of new lands, it is well to remember that it was far otherwise in the now despised seventeenth century. " Religious enthusiasm colonised New England, and religious enthusiasm founded Montreal, made a conquest of the wilderness on the upper lakes, and explored the Mississippi. Puritanism gave New England its worship and its schools, the Roman church created for Canada its altars, its hospitals and its seminaries. The influence of Calvinism can be traced in every New England village ; in Canada, the monuments of feudalism and of the Catholic church stand side by side, and the names of Montmorency and Bourbon, of Levi and Condé, are mingled with the memorials of St. Athanasius and Augustine, of St. Francis of Assisi, and Ignatius Loyola."* In the early days the strength of New France lay in its missions, and its colonisers thought more of giving heaven to the Indians than of gaining wealth for themselves. Governor De Montmagny fell down before the first cross he saw on landing, and rejoiced with exceeding great joy because his first act could be the standing god-father at the baptism of a poor savage. In Champlain's day the fort at Quebec was like a well ordered academy.

Of the Jesuits, Parkman says, " No religious order has ever united in itself so much to be admired and so much to be detested. Unmixed praise has been poured on its Canadian members. One great aim engrossed their lives, ' For the greater glory of God '—*ad majorem Dei gloriam*—they would act or wait, dare, suffer or die ; yet all in unquestioning subjection to the authority of the Superiors, in whom they recognized the agents of Divine authority itself." And Bancroft writes, " Every tradition bears testimony to their (the Jesuits') worth. Away from the amenities of life, away from the opportunities of vain glory, they became dead to the world, and possessed their souls in unutterable peace.

*Bancroft *Hist. of U. S.*, chap. 32.

The few who lived to grow old, though bowed by the toils of a long mission still kindled with the fervour of apostolic zeal."

The *Relations* are, in fact, the journals kept by the Jesuits while labouring to plant the cross among the Indians of New France. It was their duty to transmit to their Superior at Montreal, or Quebec, a written record of their doings; they had occasionally to come back from their distant fields of labour and go into retreat at the central home of the mission. The Superior annually made up a narrative, or relation, of the most important events in his large missionary jurisdiction which he forwarded to the Provincial of the order in France, who in his turn carefully scrutinised and re-edited the reports before he handed them to the printer. The *Relations* proper begin with Le Jeune's "*Brieve Relation du voyage de la Nouvelle France*," which appeared in a duodecimo volume in 1632, neatly printed and bound in vellum, and year by year there issued from the press of Sebastien Cramoisy, at the sign of the Storks, Rue St. Jacques, Paris, a similar volume until 1673, when the series ceased, probably owing to the influence of Count Frontenac to whom the Jesuits were distasteful. In addition to these forty volumes (technically known to collectors as Cramoisy's) many similar publications appeared, a few before but the majority after. The *Relations* at once became popular in the court circles of France, their regular appearance was always awaited with the keenest interest and assisted greatly in creating and fostering the enthusiasm of pious philanthropists who for many years maintained these missions. About half a century ago Dr. O'Callaghan, editor of *The Documentary History of New York*, and Dr. Shea, in his *History of the Catholic Missions Among the Indian Tribes of the United States* and Father Martin, S. J., of Montreal, drew the attention of the literary world to the great value of the *Relations* as store-houses of contemporary information. A scramble at once began for Cramoisy's, collectors found them very scarce, the devout readers of the XVIIth century had actually worn them out. The only complete set in America is in the Lennox library, New York. In 1858 the Canadian Government reprinted the Cramoisy's, with a few additions, in three large octavo volumes under the editorship of Father Martin. These, too, are now rare. Shea and O'Callaghan each brought out very small edi-

tions, chiefly of documents that had not appeared in print before. These are now being reissued by Mr. Thwaites, together with much material hitherto unpublished and some of the works of Abbes Laverdiere, Casgrain and Martin. The original text is given with an English rendering; we are promised maps, engravings, portraits and fac-similes of writings and notes historical, biographical, archaeological and miscellaneous. The series will consist of sixty octavo volumes.

These Jesuits wandered about the continent from the ice-bound rocky shores of Hudson's Bay and Labrador on the north to Kentucky and Louisiana in the south, and from Nova Scotia and Massachusetts in the east to Minnesota, Missouri and Wisconsin on the west; they launched their frail canoes upon the swift waters of the Mississippi, the St. John and the St. Lawrence; they braved the stormy winds and waves on all the inland seas, to add lustre to their Redeemer's crown by plucking brands from the burning; they visited such widely scattered tribes as the Abenakis and the Arkansas, the Cherokees, the Chickesaws, the Choctaws and the Crees, the Foxes and the Hurons, Iroquois and Illinois, the Miamis and the Micmacs, Neuters and Nipissings, Ottawas and Penobscots, Porcupines and Pottawatomies, the Seminoles and the Sioux, the Susquehannas and the Winnebagoes, the Wyandots and the Yazoos.

To descend from generalities to particulars. The series fitly begins with Lescarbot's *La Conversion des Sauvages*. Lescarbot was a Huguenot, lawyer, poet and historian. He was a protege of DeMonts and Poutrincourt; these adventurers, while allowed to have Huguenot ministers for their colonists, had undertaken that the natives should be converted only by Roman Catholic priests. A settlement had been formed at Port Royal, in Acadia, and a secular priest was there in 1610; Poutrincourt did not relish the idea of Jesuits coming into his fair domain, so Lescarbot describes with unction the baptism of the old chieftain Membertou and some twenty other Micmacs to satisfy the authorities in France that evangelistic work was making good progress without the Jesuits. Membertou was the greatest, most renowned and most formidable savage within the memory of man; he was of splendid physique, taller and larger limbed than most of the

natives, bearded like a Frenchman, grave and reserved, and at that time over one hundred years old.

Notwithstanding this good work the Jesuits did come, and we have in volume I letters from Father Pierre Biard and Father Massé (who were the first arrivals) describing first, the difficulties they had in obtaining passage to Port Royal, owing to the machinations of the heretic merchants of Dieppe, which, however, were eventually overcome by the queen and some of her ladies buying the whole ship and her cargo; then detailing the incidents of the voyage which lasted from the 26th January, 1611, to the 22nd May, during which time they were cabined in a vessel of sixty tons burden. Father Biard found to his surprise that the great cod-fish banks off Newfoundland (which island, by the way, he calls the "Azores of the great bank,") were neither sand nor mud banks, as he had thought when in France. The good priest on shipboard was "gay and happy and by the grace of God was never ill enough to stay in bed," although he writes "good Father Massé suffered a good deal, and we could not rest day or night. When we wished to eat, a dish suddenly slipped from us and struck somebody's head. We fell over each other and against the baggage, and thus found ourselves mixed up with others who had been upset in the same way; cups were spilled over our beds, and bowls into our laps, or a big wave demanded our plates." And yet they all felt like Brebeuf who exclaimed that he would cross the great ocean to reclaim by baptism one soul for our Lord.

The baptised Indians were found to be in an unsatisfactory state, with practically all their old savagery, customs, usages, fashions and vices; and quite oblivious of any distinctions as to days or times, prayers or duties. Some were very gracious, as the sagamore, who, hearing that the king of France was young and unmarried, was almost inclined to give his majesty his daughter to wife, provided he was handsomely rewarded by a few cloaks, bows, arrows and harpoons.

Volume I concludes with "an account of the Canadian Mission from 1611 to 1613, with the condition of the same Mission in 1703 and 1713, by Joseph Jovency, a priest of the Society of Jesus," and a graphic story "of the country and manners of the Canadians, or savages of New France," by the same, detailing

their customs, characteristics, superstitions, mode of living, and the game which they hunted. From this writer we learn that in the left hind hoof of the moose there "is a certain marvellous and manifold virtue; it avails especially against epilepsy, whether it be applied to the breast where the heart is, or whether it be placed in the bezel of a ring which is worn upon the finger next to the little finger on the left hand, or if it be held in the hollow of the left hand clenched in the fist. Nor does it have less power in the case of pleurisy, dizziness, and, if we may believe those familiar with it, six hundred other diseases."

The second volume contains a letter from Biard, dated 31st January, 1612, to the Provincial of the order in France, describing his work among the Red-men of Acadia, and his journey by land and sea around the Bay of Fundy, and another letter from him to the General of the order giving a full account of New France and its savages, the offspring (as he calls them) of Boreas and the ice; Father Fleche's work before the coming of the Jesuits, the beginning of their mission, and the labours and travels of himself and his fellow priest, with the conversions they had made and the prospects of their work.

Lescarbot follows with his "Last Relation of what took place in the voyage made by Sieur de Poutrincourt to New France in 1610"; and the volume closes with "A Relation of occurrences in the mission of New France during 1610 and 1614, from the published annual letters of the Society of Jesus." These last documents are in Latin. There is of necessity much of repetition, as each different writer gives his version of the same events and describes in his own words the land, its woods and its rivers, its climate, its peoples and their customs, languages and habits.

Speaking of their religion, Biard tells us that the conceptions of the Indians were limited to things sensible and material, that they could comprehend nothing abstract, internal, spiritual or general. Their whole religion consisted of certain incantations, dances and sorcery; they had no temples, sacred edifices, rites, ceremonies or religious teaching; no laws, arts, or government, save certain customs and traditions of which they were very tenacious. They had medicine-men who consulted the evil spirit concerning life and death and future events; and they

asserted that the Evil Spirit often came to them and approved or disapproved of their schemes and plans. They had great faith in dreams. Biard thought, however, that "of the one supreme God they had a certain slender notion, but they were so prevented by false ideas and custom that they really worshipped the Devil." Of the Indians of Cape Breton, Father Perrault tells us, (Vol. VIII) "We have not up to the present noticed any more religion among these poor savages than among the brutes." Lalemant in 1626 (Vol. IV.) speaking of the natives around Quebec, says, "They believe in the immortality of the soul, and in fact, they assure you that after death they go to heaven where they eat mushrooms and hold intercourse with each other." "They have no form of divine worship or any kind of prayers. They believe, however, that there is One who made all but they do not render him any homage."

On the other hand Le Jeune says they believed in certain Genii of the air who could fortell future events and were consulted through the medicine-men. At feasts the men threw some grease into the fire, saying, "Make us find something to eat. Make us find something to eat." He considered this a prayer and an offering to the Genii. He tells us (Vol. VI) that the children prayed, but "O my God what prayers they make; in the morning when they come out of their cabins they shout 'Come porcupines, come beavers, come elks!'" He heard Indians pray for the spring, for deliverance from evil, and for the Manitou not to cast his eyes upon their enemies so that they might kill them. They were great singers, and sang not only for amusement but for a thousand superstitious purposes; not one of them understood what he was singing, except when they sang for recreation. They accompanied their songs with the rattling of a drum; and the singing, the drumming, with the howling choruses of the spectators, were deemed very efficacious in restoring the sick and the dying to health.

At first some of the Indians accepted baptism merely as a sign of friendship with the French, so the Jesuits early determined to baptise no adult unless he had been well instructed in the mysteries of the faith and catechized. When teaching their language the crafty Red-men sometimes deceived the good Fathers, palming off indecent words and expressions upon them,

which they went about innocently preaching for beautiful sentences from the gospel.

Of the Hurons, Brebeuf says in 1635 (Vol. VIII): "It is so clear, so evident that there is a Divinity who has made heaven and earth, that our Hurons cannot entirely ignore it. And although the eyes of their mind are very much obscured by the darkness of long ignorance, by their vices and their sins they still see something of it. But they misapprehend Him grossly, and having the knowledge of God they do not render him the honor, the love nor the service that is due him. For they have neither temples, nor priests, nor feasts, nor any ceremonies. They say a woman named Eataentsic made the earth and men, and governs it with the aid of her little son, Jouskeha. He looks after the things of life, and is considered good; she has the care of souls, causes death, and so deemed wicked." According to the Montagnais, one Atachocan created the world and all that is therein. Once upon a time there was a flood and the world was lost in the waters, Messou sent out a raven to find a small piece of the earth, but water was everywhere; then he made an otter dive, but the flood was too deep; then a musk-rat was sent down and he brought back some soil, out of this Messou restored everything, and marrying a little lady muskrat he repeopled the earth and lived happily ever afterwards. He gave a certain savage the gift of immortality done up in a little package, with strict orders to keep it closed, while he did so he and his friends were immortal; alas the man's wife was very curious and opened the parcel; the whole thing flew away and since then Indians have died.

Le Jeune considered the Manitou might be called the Devil, he was regarded as the origin of evil; after all, however, he was not so very malicious. His wife was a regular she-devil. He did not hate men, but he was present at every battle and scrimmage; those whom he then looked upon lived, the others died. She was the cause of all diseases; but for her men would not die; she feeds upon their flesh, beginning on the inside. Her robes are made of the hair of her victims; her voice roars like the flame of fire; but her language is not intelligible to mortal ear.

The Indians believed that not only men and other animals, but all things have souls which are immortal ; the souls are the shadows of the originals. The souls of men and of beasts after death go away to the far distant west, eating bark and old wood on their dismal journey, seeing by night but blind by day. They deemed the milky-way the path of the souls to that happy land where the souls of the men hunted the souls of beavers and porcupines, running over the soul of the snow upon the souls of their snow-shoes, shooting with the soul of their bow the souls of their arrows, and killing with the souls of their knives.

The burial customs were very touching ; the dead body was swathed and tied up in skins, not lengthwise but with the knees against the stomach and the head on the knees. It was placed in the grave in a sitting posture. Biard says, (Vol. III) they bury with the dead all that he owned, such as his bow, his arrows, his skins and all his other articles, even his dogs if they have not been eaten at the funeral feast (and so sent on in readiness for the deceased). The survivors added to these a number of such offerings, as tokens of friendship. A man's grave was marked with bow, arrow and shield ; a woman's by spoons and ornaments. The obsequies finished they fled from the grave, and from that time on hated all memory of the dead. Only the souls of the buried kettles and furs and knives went off with the soul of the dead man to be used by him in the spirit land. LeJeune recounts the burial of several little ones who died in the faith. One wee corpse was handed to him wrapped in beaver skins and covered with a large piece of bark. He tenderly placed it in a coffin and buried it with all possible solemnity. " The simple people were enchanted seeing five priests in surplices honoring this little Canadian angel, chanting what is ordained by the church, covering the coffin with a beautiful pall and strewing it with flowers. When it came to lowering him into the grave the mother placed his cradle therein with a few other things, according to their custom. Then she drew some milk from her widowed breast and burnt it that her babe's soul might have drink." After the funeral the Fathers gave a feast of Indian corn-meal and prunes to induce these simple folk to come to them in case of sickness. One child before being given up for burial had his face painted blue, black and red. Father Le Jeune, however, refused on

another occasion to allow two dogs to be buried with a little girl in the cemetery, saying that the French buried there would not be pleased if such ugly beasts were placed among them. (Vol. VIII.)

We find in "The Occurrences of 1613 and 1614," and in Biard's letter of May 1614 (Vol. III) and in his *Relation* of 1616 (Vols. III and IV) accounts of the attack of the English upon the mission of St. Sauveur, under Argall of Virginia, and his destruction of the French forts at St. Croix and Port Royal, and the transportation of the Jesuits to the English colony and thence to England, whence they found their way to France. And in the *Relation* Biard again discourses of the French discoveries in Canada, its climate and its peoples, their dwellings, knowledge and customs; he dilates on his own movements around the Bay of Fundy, and tells of the colony on Mount Desert. He found that the natives while skillful wrestlers did not understand boxing at all, their way of fighting among themselves was like that of the women in France, "they fly for the hair and holding on to this they struggle and jerk in a terrible fashion, and if they are equally matched, they keep it up one whole day or even two, without stopping, until some one separates them."

Here we part with good Father Biard. This Argall of whom he said so much had, only a month or two before he shattered the hopes of the Jesuits, kidnapped the far-famed Poccahontas, the most interesting of all interesting Indian princesses, the benefactress and saviour of the Jamestown colony, craftily luring her on board his ship, then treacherously carrying her away from her home. Speaking of this destruction of Port Royal and St. Croix, Parkman says, "In a semi-piratical descent, an obscure stroke of lawless violence, began the strife of France and England, Protestantism and Rome, which for a century and a half, shook the struggling communities of North America, and closed at last in the memorable triumph on the Plains of Abraham."

For some nine years the Recollet friars attended to the spiritual wants of New France, but they found themselves unequal to the great task and so invited the Jesuits to return to aid in the evangelization of the Indians. In April 1625 three "black gowns" arrived; Charles Lalemant, our old friend of Port Royal, Enemond Massé and Jean de Brebeuf; and took up their resi-

dence temporarily with the Recollets at Quebec. In the fourth volume we have five letters of Lalemant's, (the head of the new mission,) the first announces their arrival to Champlain, the governor; the second gives the same news to the head of the Recollets; the third letter, written in August 1626, tells the General of the Order, at Rome, how they had diligently studied the language during the winter and that Brebeuf had been staying with the Indians. Next we have a letter from our Lalemant to his brother Jerome, (a Jesuit in France); in it he is not complimentary to the poor Indians; from morning till night (he writes) they have no other thought than to fill their stomachs; they are real beggars, yet as proud as they can be; polygynists; dirty; killing their parents when too old to walk, for their parents' good; practising unparalleled cruelties on their enemies, They believed that there is a hole through the earth, that the sun sets by going in at one end, rises by coming out of the other. He speaks of the difficulties of acquiring the language and of the slowness in converting the savages and says that he is sending over to France a little Huron boy to be educated.

In 1627 Lalemant went to France for supplies, on his return he was captured by the English Admiral, Kirk (acting on behalf of Sir Wm. Alexander to whom James I. had granted Nova Scotia), and sent back to France. In 1629, in ignorance that Kirk had captured Quebec, Lalemant again tried to return to Canada: the elements defeated this attempt and he and his band of missionaries were shipwrecked on the Canso rocks, two of the fathers were drowned; Lalemant escaped, and returning to France in a fishing vessel was again shipwrecked, getting to land this time on a shallop in his slippers and night-cap (truly an airy attire). The last letter in the volume tells the story of his perils by sea. In 1632 Emery de Caen arrived in Quebec to receive back that stronghold from Kirk and with him came the Jesuits Le Jeune and De Noue to re-open their mission.

Vols. V to IX are filled with the *Relations* of La Jeune, the new Superior in Canada, addressed to the French Provincial detailing the events of the mission in 1632 and following years; that of 1632 is the first of the Cramoisy series. The good father made good use of his eyes (these must have been excellent for by holding a firefly near a book he could read at night very

easily) and gives a very interesting description of the native costumes. He says, (Vol. V) "When I first saw Indians enter our captain's room, where I happened to be, it seemed to me that I was looking at those maskers who run about in France at Carnival time. There were some whose noses were painted blue, the eyes, eyebrows and cheeks painted black, and the rest of the face red; and these colors are bright and shining like those of our masks; others had black, red and blue stripes drawn from the ears to the mouth. Still others were entirely black, except the upper part of the brow and around the ears to the chin. There were some who had one black stripe, like a wide ribbon, drawn from one ear to the other, across the eyes, and three little stripes on the cheeks. Their natural color is like that of those French beggars who are half roasted in the sun, and I have no doubt that the savages would be very white if well covered. To describe how they were dressed would be difficult indeed. All the men, when it is a little warm, go naked, with the exception of a piece of skin, which falls from just below the middle to the thighs. When it is cold, or probably in imitation of Europeans, they cover themselves with furs but so awkwardly that it does not prevent the greater part of their bodies being seen. I have seen some of them dressed in bear skins just as St. John the Baptist is painted. This fur, with the hair outside, was worn under one arm and over the other, hanging to the knees. They were girdled around the body with a cord made of dried intestines. Some are entirely dressed. They are like the Grecian philosopher who would wear nothing he had not made. It would not take a great many years to learn all their crafts. All go bareheaded, men and women; their hair, which is uniformly black, is long, greasy and shiny, and is tied behind except when they wear mourning. The women are decently covered; they wear skins fastened together on their shoulders with cords; these hang from the neck to the knees. They girdle themselves also with a cord, the rest of the body, the head, the arms and the legs being uncovered. Yet there are some who wear sleeves, stockings and shoes, but in no other fashion than that which necessity has taught them." "In wearing the hair each one follows his own fancy. Some wear it long and hanging over to one side like women, and short and tied up on

the other, so skillfully that one ear is concealed and the other uncovered. Some of them are shaved just where others wear a long moustache. I have seen some that had a large strip, closely shaved, extending across the head, passing from the crown to the middle of the forehead. Others wear in the same place a sort of queue of hair, which stands out because they have shaved all around it. Oh how weak is the spirit of man." Lalemant says the men pulled out their beards to be more agreeable to the women.

The women of Canada certainly were industrious, even if the men were not, according to Biard not only did they fulfil the onerous duties that nature laid upon them, but in addition they carried dead game to camp, they were the hewers of wood and drawers of water; they made and repaired the household utensils; prepared the food, skinned the game and prepared the hides like fullers, sewed the garments, caught fish, gathered clams, often hunted, made the canoes and even set up the tents at night when on the march. So useful were they that the chiefs liked to have many of them to wife. The order the Indians maintained in their occupations aided them in preserving peace in their household. The women and the men both knew what they had to do, and one never meddled with the work of the other. The men made the frames of the canoes, the women sewed the bark; the men shaped the wood of the snow shoes, the women did the net work; the men went hunting and killed the animals, the women followed them and skinned the game and cleaned the hides. They would make fun of a man who did a woman's work.

Le Jeune (Vol. V, p. 181) says that the Indian women had great power, that if a man did not keep his promise to a Frenchman he thought it sufficient excuse to say that his wife did not wish him to do it.

The young women were not allowed to eat out of the same dish as their husbands nor to take any part in the management of affairs, and, in fact, were treated as children until they were mothers.

Graphic, too, is the Father's description of the tortures inflicted on some Iroquois prisoners by Montagnais Indians at Tadousac; the women were as incarnate fiends in their actions as were the men.

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to the Fathers. Great was the disappointment, greater was the spirit of resignation. "We hate the cause of this chastisement, but love the hand that strikes us, very confident that He who drew light out of darkness will draw good from this misfortune."

In his letter of 1634 (Vol. VI) Le Jeune is able to tell his Provincial that the mission to the Hurons has at last been begun and that Brebeuf and Davost, with three brave young men and two little boys, have gone to the Huron Country, without baggage, save the altar ornaments, and without money. In the *Relation* of 1634 Le Jeune gives a few samples to show that "the winter in New France is not so severe that some flowers of Paradise may not be gathered there:" the conversion, baptism and happy deaths of some seven savages are recorded at considerable length, "the first fruits of a land that had borne little else than thorns since the birth of the centuries." All were baptized *in extremis*: some of the Indians thought that baptism shortened their lives, it certainly shortened their names, e. g. Memichtigouchiouiscoucou was called Marguerite: Ouroutinoucaucu, Marie. Le Jeune had a definite plan for his work: he advocated the French making themselves feared by the Iroquois, and teaching the Canadian Indians to clear and cultivate the land, and establishing seminaries among them for the children. He gives a detailed account of the religious belief, habitations and superstitions of the Montagnais tribe (among whom he had passed the winter) their fasts, food, drinks, clothing, ornaments, rites and customs. He praises their intelligence, contentment, fortitude, good nature, generosity; but condemns them for their inveterate habit of mockery and ridicule, their want of compassion, their vindictiveness to their enemies, love of slander and lying, thieving habits, gluttony, drunkenness, impudent habit of begging, vile language and dirtiness in their habits, their postures, homes and eating. Their food he says "is very little, if any, cleaner than the swill given to animals, and not always even so clean. One day some shoes which had just been taken off, fell into our drink, they soaked there as long as they pleased and were withdrawn without exciting any special attention and then the water was drunk as if nothing had happened. I am not very fastidious (he adds) but I was not very thirsty as long as this malmsey lasted." He tells of their manner of hunting and fishing, and of sundry

and divers animals that lived in Canada; one of these at first glance he thought ought to be called Jupiter's little dog; later, he deemed it unworthy of being called Pluto's dog, no sewer ever smelled so bad; finally (he says) "I believe the sin smelled by St Catherine of Sienna must have had the same vile odor." The humming bird charmed him, he called it a little prodigy of nature, the flower-bird, the flower of birds, God seemed to him more wonderful in it than in the larger animals.

The Language, he says, was both very rich and very poor: all words for piety, devotion, virtue, for the things of the other life, the language of learned men, words referring to government, justice, rewards, punishment, the arts and sciences, were wanting from the lips of the Indians, as the thoughts of them were from their mind. Yet in some directions "this language is fairly gorged with richness". There was an infinite number of proper nouns which could be given in French only by circumlocutions, verbs such as neither the Greeks, nor Latins, nor any Europeans possessed the like; verbs to signify action towards a live object, other verbs to signify the same action towards inanimate things, and yet again other verbs for the same action towards several objects; different words were used to signify the same act upon land and upon water; different adjectives were joined to different nouns (*e. g.* the word for "cold" applied to a "dog," differed from "cold" applied to "wood"). Adjectives and nouns were conjugated like Latin impersonal verbs. Besides the names of each particular thing, they had an infinite number of words which signified several things together. In despair the poor priest exclaims "This is enough to shew the richness of their language. I believe they have other riches which I have not been able to discover up to the present."

Brebeuf tells us that the Huron language had distinctions of genders, number, tense, person, moods. In Cape Breton, according to Father Perrault, the natives were so clever that to disguise their language they added a syllable to every word.

Then we have in this *Relation* of 1634, (Vol. VII) an account of the wretched life, hair breadth escapes, hardships, dangers, and sufferings endured by this devoted missionary during the winter which he spent wandering through the forests and mountains on the southern shore of the St. Lawrence with a small

band of Indians. The bed he slept on "had not been made up since the creation of the world," the cold was bad enough, the heat from the fires in crowded cabins was worse, but the smoke was martyrdom, "it almost killed me," he writes, "and made me weep continually, although I had neither grief nor sadness in my heart." For hours at a time he had to lie with his mouth on the ground in order to breathe. Of the dogs he does not complain much, he was often thankful for the heat they gave him when lying on his legs or body. In summing up he says, "the cold, heat, annoyance of dogs; sleeping in the open air and upon bare ground; the position I had to assume, rolling myself up in a ball or crouching down, or sitting without a seat or a cushion; hunger, thirst, the poverty and filth of their smoked meats, sickness—all these things were merely play to me in comparison with the smoke and the malice of the Sorcerer, or medicine man, (who was one of the party) with whom I have always been on a bad footing." The Sorcerer was a terrible blasphemer and a fearful imposter, and God did not fail to strike him, for the year had not expired when his cabin took fire and he was dreadfully scorched, roasted and burned. During that terrible winter the good father often ate "scrapings of bark, bits of leather and similar things," and yet they never made him ill; once he made a good meal off the skin of a smoked eel which he had thrown to the dogs a few days before; hunger at times compelled him to seek the little twigs on the trees and eat them with delight. When the Indians had no food they frequently made a banquet of smoke, their fondness for tobacco was beyond belief. "Let us say with compassion that they pass their lives in smoke, and at death fall into the fire," remarks the pious Jesuit.

The seventh volume concludes with Le Jeune's "*Relation of what occurred in New France in the year 1635.*" Up to this time the *Relations* have been the production of the Superior alone, in this and subsequent ones the work is composite, the missionaries in the different parts of the field having sent to Quebec the reports of their labors, the Superior arranged them and added his own comments and story before sending them to France. Le Jeune begins with hopeful anticipations of the growth and prosperity of Canada and especially rejoices over the interest taken in the mission by the people of the old land; laymen were aiding with their

money, priests and nuns were longing to come over and help in the good work. At this time they had six different mission stations: St. Anne, at Cape Breton; St. Charles, at Miskow (on the Bay of Chaleurs); Notre Dame de Recouvrance, at Kebec, near the Fort; Notre Dame de Anges, (the oldest of all) half a league from Kebec; the Conception, at Three Rivers; and Ihonatiria, among the Hurons; and the Superior expected shortly to have another one among these settled savages. The mission among the Hurons was deemed the most important, the greatest conversions were expected there and thither the greatest number of labourers should be sent. Scurvy had been epidemic at Three Rivers during the winter and many French had died, exhibiting in their manner of death "the altogether admirable effects of the grace of our Lord within their souls." Still the good man, when summer came, had to write "health prevails throughout all our settlements but not saintliness as yet." He hoped, however, if the Governors were careful Canada would be a "Jerusalem blessed of God, composed of citizens destined for heaven." Twenty-two savages were baptized during the year; of the nine thus admitted into the fold in older missions, six had passed out of this world when the Father wrote; of the thirteen among the Hurons, twelve went happily to God almost immediately they had entered His church here below. The famine had been sore in the land during the winter, dire tales of cannibalism came to the Fathers, and a poor savage who seemed to be groping for the light said, that of the many good things he had been told this prayer seemed the best of all to him, "Give us to-day our food, give us something to eat."

This summer two more fathers went joyfully up to Huron Mission "they had to go bare-footed into the bark ships of the Indians, for fear of spoiling them and they did this gaily, with glad eyes and faces." Rumors of Turkish privateers caused much anxiety in Quebec over the ships coming from France, but these happily arrived and with them another Jesuit, Father de Quen.

Father Brebeuf reported fully what befell himself and the other members of the Mission as they journeyed, the previous year, with their Red friends more than three hundred leagues to the Hurons' country by way of the Ottawa River: wading and pulling the canoes through some rapids and portaging round others made

the journey tedious in the extreme ; thirty five times they carried their boats, and over fifty times dragged them. At every portage Brebeuf had to make at least four trips and the others had scarcely fewer. Food, too, was scarce. The Father paddled as continuously as the Indians and constantly had to walk in water, in mud, in the obscurity and entanglements of the forests, exposed to the stings of myriads of mosquitoes and gnats ; there was not time enough to recite the Breviary, except when weary and worn they camped at night, so weary that the body could do no more, yet their souls were filled with deep peace, feeling they were bearing the cross for the honor of our Lord and for the salvation of the poor barbarians. Father Davost was robbed and left, on the way, among the Algonquins, and was worn out when he reached the Huron land. Daniel, too, was abandoned and had to get another canoe. Brebeuf himself was nearly drowned. He arrived among the Hurons on the day of our Lady of the Snows after thirty days continuous toil with only one day of rest, (the others took much longer), and was landed in the evening at the port of the village of Toanche. He had been there some years before, but when the Indians had left him he found that the old village had disappeared ; so after prostrating himself and thanking God, Our Lady and St. Joseph, he set off in the gathering twilight to find shelter. Soon he was greeted and welcomed by friends and all was well with him, for the Hurons were exceedingly hospitable towards strangers.

The French settled themselves at Ihonatiria and soon had a cabin built, part was used for their home and part for their chapel. The Indians were astonished at the intelligence shewn by the French in their building. A clock created great astonishment, the savages thought it was alive as it struck, that it could hear (as one jocular Frenchman called out on the last stroke " That's enough " and it stopped) ; they named it " the captain of the day," and at last had to be told when it struck four it said, " Go away, we want to shut the door," when it struck twelve, " Come put on the kettle." The latter announcement was always heeded and the hungry savages were ever ready to eat with the French. Writing was beyond their conception. The wonderful things that the Jesuits had and did made the Indians docile and ready to accept what was told them concern-

ing the mysteries of the faith. Poor Brebeuf had neither the leisure nor the paper to say all he wished. He tells us that the Huron Country which was situated in the county of Simcoe, near the Severn River, could be easily traversed in three or four days, that its soil produced much good Indian corn, that there were some twenty towns and about 30,000 souls, that the language was not difficult to master, that it was very complete and regular and spoken by about a dozen other nations, the Tobacco Nation, the Neuters, Iroquois, Susquehannas and Cats.

Brebeuf was glad to find that the Hurons had only one wife each and that marriage was not permitted among relatives. However, he admits, the men made frequent changes of their wives and the women of their husbands. He deemed them lascivious, although in some leading points less so than many Christians who will blush some day in their presence "for there was no kissing or immodest caressing among them." They were gluttons, but often fasted two or three days at a time. They were lazy liars, thieves, pertinacious beggars and by some deemed vindictive. On the other hand our holy priest saw some rather noble moral virtues shining among them; there was a great love and union among them, they were extremely hospitable, wonderfully patient in poverty, famine and sickness, and met death without the slightest falter or change of countenance.

Father Perrault, of the Mission of Cape Breton, in his report describes the situation, climate, resources and natives of that island; he praises the honesty, docility and modesty of the people. The *Relation* ends with "various sentiments and opinions of the Fathers who are in New France, taken from their last letters in 1635," a collection of religious experiences, observations and opinions concerning their holy work, the qualifications of a missionary (affability, humility, patience and a generous charity), and a solemn vow taken by them to God, the Holy Virgin and her glorious spouse St. Joseph, to secure by the goodness of Our Lord, the conversion of the people, through the meditation of his Holy Mother and her Holy Spouse.

The latter half of vol. VIII and the whole of vol. IX are taken up with Le Jeune's part of the *Relation* of 1636; vol. X will consist of Brebeuf's contribution to that narrative. As usual the worthy Superior dilates at length concerning the baptisms

during the year and of the happy death and interesting burials of many of the 115 savages made children of the Church. He attributes much of the work done to the favour shown by heaven, since the taking of the special vows referred to above. He records that the Indians seemed no longer vexed at the baptism of their sick children; for a while they had an idea that it was fatal to them, and now the more aged ones were beginning to wish to die Christians, and asking for baptism when they were sick, in order not to go down into the fires with which they were threatened.

“As a good house-wife out of divers fleeces weaves one piece of cloth, as a bee gathers wax and honey out of many flowers and makes a new bundle of all,” so we have extracted what we present you from the works of these long-departed Fathers.

R. VASHON ROGERS.

CANADIAN LAW IN REGARD TO RESPONSIBILITY.

IF asked to write the saddest chapter in human history, one might fairly say that the cruel treatment of the insane, in times gone by, would furnish material for the subject. The Egyptians are said to have been gentle and forbearing in their treatment of madness, and from ancient medical writings it is learned that the Greeks had reasonable theories of the causes of mental defect, that is the Greeks who were furthest advanced in culture and science. Hippocrates was fully alive to the wonderful connection between body and mind, and realized the fact that insanity was not simply a divine visitation, but an outcome of bodily defect. The aesthetic culture and intellectual development of the Greeks gave way to the barbarism of the middle ages, and as can readily be understood, in the days of monasticism and religious asceticism, when the body was looked upon with contempt as being the lurking place of the devil, any rational theory of the causation of insanity had little chance to

live. Persons who were insane were naturally treated as having been given over to the possession of the devil, and as Maudsley suggests, they treated those possessed of the devil, as they would have treated the devil, could they have had the good fortune to lay hold of him. The cruel treatment of the insane, long survived the belief in diabolical possession, because the Church, aided by the metaphysicians, continued to block the way of scientific inquiry, and thought it wrong to enter on a study of mind by way of physical investigation. Even to-day, among the uneducated classes, the beliefs of the middle ages are commonly held, and it will be many a year before it will be possible to convince the average man, that Jack is not as good as his Master, in forming an estimate of a person's mental condition or measuring his responsibility. It is not difficult to understand this, for while it is true that the majority of the uneducated, and a large proportion of the so called well informed, speak of the brain as the organ of mind, as a matter of fact they regard the brain as something completely emancipated from the body, and in no way dependent on it.

If their beliefs are analysed, it will be learned that they see nothing incongruous in looking for healthy action in a diseased organ. In spite of the prevalent theory that all people are born equal, as far as responsibility is concerned, as a matter of fact every man is a law unto himself. Given a person with sound heredity and favorable environment, both physical and moral, and his equipment for the fight in life is somewhat different from that of the physical weakling, already damned by a poor heredity and bad surroundings; and yet these men are treated as equal, as far as regards responsibility, by many representatives of law and theology. The majority of newspapers take the same stand, and a very superficial study of the question reveals the fact, that in Canada at least, the subject of criminology is but little understood. Our penitentiaries and large prisons, as at present constituted, furnish all the proof necessary, to show that this idea of all persons being born equal in responsibility, is the one believed in by the many. Any one who takes the trouble to study practical psychology in a Canadian penitentiary, will be astounded at the want of regard for the subject of responsibility shown by our law, law founded on what is speciously termed good common

sense, when uncommon sense was really required in its proper development. Here will be found the born criminal ranked with the man who has under temptation made a mistake, to put it mildly, and been caught at it: the general paretic who committed crime as a result of gross brain disease herded with the moral imbecile; the treatment is the same in each case, the law recognizes no difference, and of course the sentence is the same when the criminal acts were identical. Any thoughtful man will at once admit, that not only should a proper classification of these different cases be made, but suitable treatment for each provided, The born criminal should be kept from society as long as he lives- the moral imbecile separated from him and developed as far as his moral defect will permit, the paretic cared for in a properly equipped hospital, the man who has made his mistake kept from all of these classes, punished and yet inspired to better things, etc. Above all it is necessary that varying grades of responsibility should be recognized, and different treatment for distinct classes provided.

In studying the subject of responsibility the first great mistake made by the majority of people is that of treating mental deficiency, and mental disease, if we must fall back on such an unsatisfactory term, as one and the same thing. It is this misconception which proves so embarrassing to medical witnesses giving evidence before those who are utterly unable to appreciate the force or bearing of the difference, and when one comes to the subject of moral defect, woe be to the alienist who mentions such a condition as moral imbecility. It is not a difficult thing to make people understand that intellectual imbecility can and does exist, but that moral defect can be just as clearly marked as the intellectual, the majority of persons will deny. As a matter of fact such cases are far from uncommon: not a year passes that several do not come under notice, and as might be suspected, intellectual defect generally accompanies such deficiency, and the stigmata of degeneracy, as shown by physical imperfections, are almost invariably present. Of course we are all aware that there may be much intellect in conjunction with little morality, but it is a question if it is the best kind of intellect.

It would be impossible in a short paper to deal satisfactorily with such a large subject as responsibility, and one or two aspects

of the question must suffice. To speak briefly and in a general way of two states of mind admitted by law, under certain conditions, to modify responsibility, or at least to presume want of responsibility. These conditions are imbecility and insanity.

The term imbecility indicates, not disease of the brain, but a condition of defective brain development, in which the mind may show every degree of deficiency moral and intellectual, the gradations ranging between ordinary intelligence on the one hand and idiocy on the other. In some imbeciles there is great defect in general intelligence and marked development in some particular direction, such as abnormal musical ability of peculiar quality, as in Blind Tom's case, of marvellous memory or perhaps cunning. In other words there is congenital defect and natural incapacity, a condition different from that of want of development arising from neglect. No one doubts the irresponsibility of idiots, but when it comes to the question of imbecility we are on a battle ground where law and medicine are widely at variance, simply because Canadian law is hampered by the stern sense of what is called, in our determination to be loyal to Imperial interests in everything, British justice. Now I submit that it is not British justice, nor yet even British law, for as a matter of fact most of the English judges have long ago recognized the absurdity of legal contention for abstract definitions of mental conditions. In the absence of a standard man with whom to make comparisons, abstract definitions prove difficult to manage. Unfortunately in our law there is no half measure of justice, we have a simple method of arriving at conclusions, and with us the quality of mercy is not strained, nor does it drop as the gentle dew from heaven. If Carlyle's well known definition of England could be applied to our country, perhaps law as administered might meet the case, as the standard of responsibility would be fixed, but it is unfortunate for the argument that the race is not made up of fools, it is only a race a little deeper steeped in some kinds of ignorance than it should be.

It is freely admitted that in fixing the amount of responsibility in cases of imbecility, the problem is extremely complex, too complex, not unfrequently, for the twelve excellent jurymen who are chosen, not so much for their intelligence and ability to

grapple psychological problems, as for their inherited Anglo-Saxon quality called common sense.

To illustrate what common sense will do when put to the test : In Rockwood Hospital there was an imbecile, who to the passing observer appeared an amiable, quiet and inoffensive man, pleasant to converse with and on the surface possessed of an ordinary amount of intelligence. His heredity was sadly defective, and those who were not familiar with his history, and saw him poring over his Bible with diligence, regarded him as a fine fellow, and were apt to remonstrate if any one happened to differ from this opinion. As a matter of fact, this man was a moral and intellectual imbecile with a history almost too shocking to narrate. He did not learn to walk or talk at the same age as other children, but when he grew old enough to do these things showed a morbid desire to kill. He commenced with chickens, dogs and cats, then attempted to smother a baby, and at last committed rape, for which crime he was sentenced to death. The sentence was commuted, and finally the young fellow was freed from the penitentiary, but had no sooner reached home than he commenced a new series of atrocities, disembowelling horses and cutting out their tongues. It would take too much space to give a list of this youth's crimes, but finally his mental defect seems to have been suspected, and he drifted from the penitentiary to Rockwood Hospital, where he attempted all sorts of atrocities, such as the mutilation of harmless demented. He escaped one night, stole a horse and was found just in time to prevent the torture of the animal. Again he escaped, because attendants could rarely be made to understand the Jekyll and Hyde characteristics of this amiable fellow. He had not been gone an hour before he attempted to commit rape, and the civil authorities deemed it advisable to give him a taste of Canadian law, in the hope of curing him of his evil propensities. He was arrested in the hospital wards, and subsequently tried. In spite of the fact that he was a patient in Rockwood when arrested, medical evidence to show his mental condition was not permitted, the prisoner was found guilty, and the judge sentenced him for a year, saying that under the circumstances he must be lenient. In a year's time Canadian law was to admit this man's full responsibility, and to allow him another chance to commit any

crime that might suggest itself. When in gaol, the prisoner won the confidence of the gaoler, who regarded him as well-behaved and trustworthy. The gaoler told me, on enquiry, that although a few cats were missing, he did not connect the prisoner in any way with their disappearance. I asked the young man what he had done with the cats and with Mikado like smile he gave me full details of their destruction in the gaol furnace. The truth of the matter was that this man was intellectually imbecile, and strange to say became a veritable fiend when he saw blood, the sight of which made him pale, agitated, and then intensely excited. Moral imbeciles are generally amiable, not unfrequently strong on definitions of morality and its demands; their crimes are committed, sometimes without any particular reason beyond morbid impulse, and then again their motives are beyond analysis. Their behaviour after the commission of crimes is characteristic and remarkable, generally denoting gentle satisfaction or complete indifference. It will always be a difficult matter to measure the amount of responsibility in imbeciles, and the wise man will not jump at conclusions too hastily when making a study of them, for experience teaches us that in most cases acts are of far greater import than words, and a complete life record is sometimes a revelation. As a matter of fact it may be said that the defect is generally greater than appears on the surface. As might be supposed, imbeciles furnish a promising soil for the development of brain disease, which is made evident by the occurrence of insanity; and when the little control which originally existed is destroyed a most dangerous condition of mind is induced. Among this class many murderers of the Shortis type are found, and their crimes are of singular atrocity, especially when sexual perversion is present. Now if it is a difficult thing for physicians who are dealing every day with imbeciles, to form a just estimate of their responsibility without careful and oftentimes prolonged observation, how absurd it is to suppose that a judge, lawyer and jury can settle the question in a few hours, by listening to evidence, limited and hampered by restrictions which frequently make this evidence ridiculous. If the contentions regarding imbecility are correct, how much greater are the difficulties when we come to deal with responsibility in disease of the brain, unless we take a broad-minded view, and at once discard the childish definitions

of insanity so often called on to do duty in Canadian courts of law. The moment the existence of general brain disease is admitted, medicine, backed by experience gained by thousands of physicians in the wards of hospitals for the insane, insists that the standards of responsibility as fixed by law, should at once be modified. Law, in its wisdom, proceeds by an ingenious method to fix cast-iron rules to judge the mental condition of every man, and its methods of analysis are as crude as they are absurd. As far as law is concerned, the physiology and pathology of the brain might never exist. Maudsley in his treatise on Responsibility gives an interesting historical account of the development of the present law. In the latter part of the seventeenth century Lord Hall laid down the celebrated "wild beast" theory, as it is called, in which partial insanity and total insanity were separated. In the trial of Arnold, a lunatic, for shooting Lord Onslow in 1723, Mr. Justice Tracy gave a complete definition of this theory. He said "it is not every kind of frantic humor, or something unaccountable in a man's actions that points him out to be such a madman as to be exempted from punishment, it must be a man that is totally deprived of his understanding or memory, and doth not know what he is doing, no more than an infant, than a brute or a wild beast, such a one is never the object of punishment." In the trial of Hadfield, in 1800, for shooting at the King, this doctrine was upset by the cleverness of Mr. Erskine, who in an eloquent address showed its absurdity.

In the next case of note, that of Bellingham, for the murder of Percival in 1812, although it was perfectly clear that Bellingham was insane, it was laid down by the Attorney General and Lord Mansfield, that although a man might be incapable of conducting his own affairs, he may still be answerable for his criminal acts, if he possess a mind capable of distinguishing right from wrong. This was the only modification until 1843 when the celebrated McNaughten case occurred. McNaughten shot Drummond under the influence of a delusion that he was one of a band of conspirators endeavoring to make his life wretched. After an interesting trial, which has become historical, McNaughten was acquitted upon the ground of insanity, thereupon the general public and the House of Lords became alarmed, just as the Canadian public does at the present time, and a certain series

of questions was propounded to the judges, regarding the law on the subject of insanity, when it was alleged as a defence in criminal actions. The answers to these questions still supply the legal fireworks in criminal trials in Canada. In a few words these instructions may be summed up as follows :

" To establish a defence on the ground of insanity it must be clearly proved that at the time of committing the act, the party accused was labouring under such defect of reason from disease of the mind as not to know the nature and quality of the act he was doing, or if he did know it, he did not know he was doing what was wrong."

If broadly interpreted this rule would excuse many acts of the insane, but in Canada it has rarely been read in any other sense than that of limiting its application to a knowledge of right and wrong in the abstract. If the rule had not been hampered by further limitations, it would not have been so generally condemned by physicians, but in reply to the question " If a person under an insane delusion as to existing facts commits an offense in consequence thereof is he thereby excused ? " To this the judges replied that " on the assumption that he labors under *partial* delusion and is not in other respects insane, he must be considered in the same situation as to responsibility as if the facts with respect to which the delusion exists were real." For example, " if under the influence of delusion he supposes another man to be in the act of attempting to take his life, and he kills the man as he supposes in self-defence, he would be exempt from punishment ; if his delusion was that the deceased had inflicted a serious injury to his character and fortune and he killed him in revenge for such supposed injury he would be liable to punishment."

From the medical standpoint such a theory is not only absurd, but preposterous and a very short practical acquaintance with insanity shows how impossible it is to apply such a rule. How can such a thing as *partial* delusion be defined ? In fact, the belief in a partial delusion is almost worthy of being called a delusion in itself. Under such a ruling, ninety out of every hundred patients in an Asylum could be proved fully responsible for all of their acts, and fit to enjoy liberty.

In regard to this theory Maudsley says, "the judges actually bar the application of the right and wrong theory of responsibility to a particular case, by authoritatively prejudging it; instead of leaving the question to the jury, they determine beforehand by assuming the possession of the requisite knowledge by the accused person."

To any one having a practical knowledge of insanity, the absurdity of the right and wrong theory is patent, as may be shown very easily by the examination of the most delusional patients in an Asylum. Let us take a case in point, one of paranoia in an advanced stage, where the mental defect is so clearly shown that no one can doubt it. The following interview is reported verbatim.

A.B., Male, Aged 38.

" 'Who are you?' 'I am a crowned king.'

'Where were you crowned?' 'At Corbett and Sullivan's championship fight.'

'What are you king of?' 'Emperor of Germany. The Emperor of Germany crowned me, and the arbitrators sanctioned it.'

'At what place?' 'In Canada I think.'

'Are you a Judge?' 'I was, and held the seat as senior in the Division Court, afterward removed to the High Court.'

'Are your powers mortal or divine?' 'Divine as far as the truth is concerned.'

'Are your physical powers great?' 'Just middling.'

'Did you ever hold the sun in your hands?' 'I did.'

'Did you ever hold the moon in your hands?' 'I remember the sun, but am not so certain about the moon, the sun was very hot.'

'How large was it?' 'As large as the top of your waste paper basket.'

'How hot was it?' 'It hurt the leather mits I had on, I think other powers were used on it.'

'What kept it hot?' 'It was hot weather.'

'How did it come?' 'It came down gradually by the powers of Masonry or the exchequer of the world.'

'Who won the fight?' 'Corbett.'

'Where is your crown?' 'The Emperor has it.'

'Where are your credentials?' 'I am told that some are here others in Almonte.'

'Have you the power to take life without punishment?' 'No now, but I shall if placed on my throne.'

'Kings have not that power now a days?' 'Yes they have if they sign a proclamation issued by arbitration, I have met the Emperor of Germany several times in Canada. Once at the great fight. He is a gentleman in every sense of the word, he came to Rockwood once.'

'What caused the trouble you went through?' 'The proclamation issued by all exchequers of all nations and Empires.'

'How did you suffer?' 'Abuse of all kinds, my body is marked up, I have the leopard's body right through and my body is spotted like a dog's.'

'What other abuse have you suffered?' 'My body has been torn by bears.'

'Did you see the bears?' 'Yes there were four, brownish black in color, two old ones and two young ones.'

'How did they catch you?' 'First at the door of a stable, I fought one and fastened it to a post, he got loose and I went out and sat on a fence, then four tackled me, I killed three with a scythe, I think I shot the fourth, but was so frenzied that I threw myself into the river and crawled out eventually on a small island.'

'Why were you sent to Rockwood?' 'To receive good health and to return to my Empire.'

'What is Rockwood for?' 'For insane people.'

'Do you come under that heading?' 'I was told so, was not insane when admitted, have not been insane although sometimes incapable of looking after myself as the result of drugging by society or government.'

'What is an insane man?' 'A man not capable of taking care of himself.'

'Are there many insane here?' 'There are.'

'Are many illegally detained?' 'None that I am aware of.'

'What is the difference between right and wrong?' 'It is right to love the Almighty and to serve him with faith, hope, and charity.'

'What is wrong?' 'To commit anything that the law of God forbids.'

'What is conscience?' 'The dictates of a man's own mind to tell him if he is doing wrong.'

'Is it wrong to kill?' 'Yes.'

'Is there any justification for murder?' 'No.'

'If an insane man committed murder what punishment would you inflict, if any?' 'I would not hang him but put him in safe keeping that his neighbours might be safe.'

‘ Is any insane man responsible ? ’ ‘ Never, neither God nor man can hold him responsible. Our Heavenly Father forgiveth, so should we.’ ”

What can be clearer than the insanity of the foregoing unfortunate, what can be more satisfactory than his conception of right and wrong when it is remembered that he is an uneducated man, and yet if we believe in the narrow interpretation of law so often given, this patient would be considered fully responsible. The interview given is merely one of many such held with the criminal insane, and is not picked out as a startling example.

There is an inborn consciousness in every true Briton that British law and tradition have something heaven-born about them, and there is a tendency in some parts of the empire, to even outdo the Britisher in loyalty to these and other things. So it is in regard to the administration of the lunacy law, while the British have not made any change in the wording of it, certainly in its administration they have been much broader than we have in Canada, and it is generally admitted that they have hanged but few insane of late years. Of course, it may be argued that medicine has no right to make suggestions to law in regard to the administration of justice. Medicine has no wish to dictate in regard to this, but it has a right which cannot be disputed to show that law founded on a misconception of the nature of insanity is not consonant with the scientific advances of the nineteenth century. As a matter of fact, each case of supposed insanity in criminal offences should not be judged by a cast-iron rule, but carefully and conscientiously studied by persons who are able to form opinions of value; opinions not founded on vague theories, but on facts not to be driven out of existence by the ridicule of theorists, who have derived their knowledge of the most subtle of diseases, chiefly by inspiration and study of volumes of law.

We hear a good deal of the speed and unerring justice of the Canadian law; if some of those who talk so glibly of these could know of the judicial murders committed in the name of law, and the judicial tragedies obviated by the doubts of Ministers of Justice in regard to the correctness of verdicts rendered, they would pause. Within the last few weeks even, we have seen the spectacle of an insane man self accused of murder being sentenced to

death. In this instance the mental defect was so palpable that the Minister of Justice very properly called a halt, and had the prisoner examined as to his insanity, with the result that he was transferred to the asylum for insane criminals. Post mortem revelations are sometimes grim reminders that law and justice are not always synonymous.

It is not proposed in this paper to deal with different forms of insanity, but merely to refer to some of these questions of responsibility, in a general way. As has been said before, insanity is a physical disease, and can be regarded from no other standpoint by the physician, and in regard to the questions of responsibility, alienists are not sentimentalists, as is so often claimed, but men who are imbued with the fact, gained by constant intercourse with the insane, that law is absolutely wrong in its judgment of the most afflicted of our race. Law is supposed to exist for the dispensation of justice, to punish wrong, and to prevent crime. If it can *prevent* insanity, so much the better for law; certainly the hanging of one lunatic will not prevent another from doing murder. The truth of the matter is that our law is merely a reflex of popular prejudice, prejudice so bitter that it does not take time to listen to reason. To-day the public willingly commits its insane to the keeping of hospitals, never questioning the opinion of those in charge of these institutions. Thousands of patients pass through the hands of the medical officers, and how often are they accused of doing injustice or of making mistakes in regard to the mental condition of those committed to their care? Let one of these medical officers go into a court of law to give testimony regarding the insanity of a murderer, and at that moment he is exposed to the taunts of a self-inspired cross-examiner, and asked to answer questions, as it was in one trial suggested, ranging from opinions regarding the fall of Adam to the construction of the latest rule in foot-ball. No one blames the lawyer because he is merely following the custom and taking every advantage of a defective system. Newspapers, especially of the sensational order, join in the hue and cry, thinly covered insinuations are made regarding the disinterestedness of so-called expert evidence, and editorials intimating that the law of God demands blood for blood are written by the score. What shall be said of sermons preached on the same subject? In other

quarters it is suggested—and this is the pet argument—better hang the criminal insane and rid the world of a burden. This is at least an argument, true, not based on our boasted humanity, but having a basis of reason, on the ground of what some people choose to call expediency. It is not a new argument, having been applied with far greater sense by the Spartans, who got rid of their weaklings at a tender age, thus saving expense and anticipating trouble. Of course, if the argument were followed to its legitimate conclusion, lunatics would not prove the only nuisances the world could flourish without.

The conflict of opinion, or the subject of responsibility in mental disease, between medicine on the one side, and law and public opinion on the other is perpetuated by a variety of circumstances. One cause is the common belief that true insanity is always marked by extravagance of conduct, violence, incoherence and evident excitement, in short is such a palpable thing that no one can mistake it. It rarely suggests itself to the uninformed, that the most dangerous forms of insanity are characterized by quiet and concealment of emotions, for the very reason that persons having delusions of persecution, purposely conceal their delusions from their supposed enemies. In dangerous forms too the intellectual derangement is sometimes scarcely noticeable, and the disease manifests itself through acts rather than words. Another popular bugaboo is that of malingering. It is often said, better hang a dozen insane men than allow one malingerer to escape. Leaving this absurd and heartless argument out of the question, the fact is that to simulate insanity requires not only genius, but a knowledge of disease possessed by few. The simulator invariably overdoes his part, and is soon detected, for like Tom the Fool, in *Lear*, he puts his extravagances together with a continuity and profusion quite uncommon to true madness.

Perhaps the greatest source of lack of confidence on the part of both the law and the public is the unfortunate system of getting so called expert evidence at trials. Law has not been spared, and it is only reasonable that medicine should receive the blame it deserves. It is asserted, and quite fairly too, that whenever the defence of insanity is urged at a murder trial in Canada, we have two sets of so called experts, one for the defence and

one for the prosecution. In view of what has been written, what explanation of such a state of affairs can be offered. The explanation is one which makes evident the necessity for a change. These so called experts are almost invariably asylum physicians with experience, on the one side, opposed by medical men who have theoretical knowledge, but limited opportunity to study and know insanity practically. It is a matter of history that in all important murder trials in Ontario, where the question of insanity has come up, asylum physicians have almost invariably arrived at similar conclusions quite independently, and opportunity after opportunity has arisen to prove their conclusions correct although opposed to the opinions of both law and the general public. The melancholy fact remains that their professional brethren helped to destroy the force of these alienists' evidence. Such things should not be, and the time is ripe for an advance. Law and Medicine should bury the hatchet if possible, and get together to evolve a new and better order of things. In any criminal case where mental defect is suspected, the State should appoint a commission, of say three alienists, to make a careful, and if necessary extended examination of the prisoner, for nothing is to be gained and much may be lost, by undue haste.

The alienists would necessarily be asylum physicians of several year's standing, and as these men are already receiving salaries from the State, they would be protected from the insulting accusations of being bought up. On their report the advisability of sending the case to trial could be determined by the legal authorities.

Many people assert that asylum physicians are faddists and theorists, but it can safely be asserted that the man who does best work in a Hospital for the insane is not the so called heaven born genius or theorist, but the broad minded practical man of common sense so dearly beloved by the average Briton. The Greek student does not acquire a knowledge of Greek verbs by inspiration and theory, the knowledge of anatomy is not to be learned in a day, an inkling of normal psychology requires more than an ordinary lifetime to acquire, and so what of the abnormal psychology? If common sense is to be the requirement in forming an opinion of responsibility in cases of mental defect, we may reasonably suggest, in the interests of humanity, that common sense backed by long experience and special education is likely to give more satisfactory results.

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ART, MORALITY AND RELIGION.

HEGEL characterises the Greek religion as the religion of beauty, contrasting it with the Jewish religion which he terms the religion of the sublime. The general appropriateness of the distinction is obvious. The beautiful implies the sensuous or imaginative presentation of a definite or concrete whole. Nothing is, in the precise sense, beautiful which cannot be clearly marked off, and apprehended in a single view. This holds good whether the object is a single thing—a flower, an animal, a man—or a connected series of events, such as is exhibited in an epic poem or a tragedy. The Greek religion therefore naturally maintained a close alliance with art, for the divine was in it conceived as a number of clearly defined individuals, identical with men in their essential nature, though free from the limits of mortality. The sublime, on the other hand, cannot be confined within definite limits, but escapes from the grasp of the presentative imagination; and therefore the Jewish religion, denying that the divine can be limited, is hostile not to all art, but to beautiful art. The Christian religion is the religion of the spirit. It is based upon the idea of the divine as manifested in all forms of existence, while yet it insists upon the infinity and spirituality of God. This complexity or superficial contradiction in the very essence of Christianity obviously raises a difficult problem at once; and we know from its history how there has been a tendency at times to exclude all art as irreligious, which has always been followed by an equally strong and irrepressible tendency to reassert its importance.

The term Art or Fine Art must be understood as including architecture, painting, sculpture, music and poetry. It seems at first sight strange to us that Aristotle should exclude architecture from the sphere of fine art. The species of art to which he particularly refers in the *Poetics* are the trio of music, dancing and poetry, which agree in the common element of rhythm,—rhythm of sounds, rhythm of bodily movements, rhythm of words; but

he adds to these, as inferior because less expressive, painting and sculpture. Architecture is excluded, and placed among the useful arts, because it is not an imitation or representation of *human* action; and such "imitation" is for Aristotle the characteristic of fine art. This limitation of its species points to a defect in Aristotle's general conception of Art, which has its source in the limitation of the whole Greek conception of life. Meantime, the best introduction to the question with which we are mainly concerned will perhaps be a consideration of Aristotle's theory of Art, and especially of poetry, as set forth in his *Poetics*.

"Art," Aristotle tells us, "imitates nature" (*ἡ τέχνη μιμνῆται τῇ φύσει*). Each of the terms here used requires explanation. (1) By "art" he does not mean merely fine art, but human activity as a whole, so far as it imposes a definite form upon a given material. This activity may be either with a view to the production of what is useful, or the production of what satisfies the highest needs of the soul. In this sense medicine and poetry are both arts; but the object of the former is the practical end of health, of the latter the creation of an object which is an end in itself. (2) "Nature," in Aristotle, is the end which each thing tends to realise, and in the attainment of which its existence (*οὐσία*) as a specific thing consists. The "nature" of a thing is thus what it is striving to become, and only as it attains its end can it be said to exist in the full sense of the term "existence." Thus the "nature" of a plant is to exist as a living being and reproduce its species, and only in this process of self-propagation and species-propagation has it any existence. The "nature" of man is to realise the whole of the rational activities which constitute his existence or essence as man, and only in so far as he does realise these is he man. (3) When, therefore, "art" is said to "imitate" nature, this means for Aristotle that man by his reason is able to grasp in idea the end or "nature" of the object with which he deals, and to employ means for the attainment of it. In one sense this "art" is an end which "nature makes," for the production of objects presupposes the faculty of reason, which constitutes the "nature" of man. But this "nature" is related to non-rational things as higher to lower, and from this point of view non-rational things are merely a material for the development of man himself. At the same

time man cannot realise himself without discovering and conforming to the "nature" of things. Thus, the physician must comprehend the "nature" of the animal organism before he can produce that balance of functions in which health consists, and in the attainment of this end he must follow the method of "nature," *i.e.* he must restore the organism to the condition in which it will restore itself. Every living being by its very nature is continuously striving after health; and, where this is not attained, there is some obstruction in the conditions, external or internal, which hinders the realisation of the end. The physician seeks to change the conditions, so that the organism may attain to the end which is implied in it. In this sense he "imitates" or follows nature. In the practical arts, then, the "imitation" of nature consists in the comprehension of the end of "nature" and the production of that end by rational means. Left to itself the organism cannot always adapt itself to the conditions required for the realisation of health, and art aids it by changing the conditions, and thus removing the hindrances to the realisation of the principle which is always at work. All the practical arts are in some way conducive to the realisation of man himself; and they all take their cue from nature. Even the cooking of food promotes the end of digestion, and, as Aristotle believed, follows the method of nature. And, in the higher sphere of politics, art seeks to secure the end of enabling man to live as his nature demands. For man is by nature a political animal: he naturally combines in families and tribes, and such unions are stages on the way to the higher union of an organised state.

The useful arts then "imitate nature" in the sense that the artist, seeing what nature is striving to accomplish and observing the means employed by nature, aims at the same end and adopts the same means, doing consciously what nature does unconsciously. In what sense, then, does fine art "imitate nature"? Obviously, it does not seek, like the practical arts, to produce a change in actual things, and therefore it does not employ the mechanism of nature in order to secure a definite end. The "imitation" must here be of a different character. Wherein, then, does it consist?

Aristotle expressly calls the arts of poetry, music and dancing "modes of imitation" (*μιμήσεις*), and by this he

partly means that they are copies or images. As such the products of fine art are obviously lacking in the reality of the objects of which they are copies; they are no more real things than the reflections in a mirror. They have, no doubt, their own species of reality, but it is not the reality of actual objects. Their reality is dependent upon the fidelity with which they copy or represent the features of the actual, but they have not themselves any independent reality. What, then, do they copy or "imitate"? They imitate "character, emotion and action," or, as we are also told, they are an "imitation of persons acting." This is a definition of the object of all art, and not simply of some forms of poetry, and to understand all that it involves is to understand Aristotle's conception of art.

(1) It will be observed that Aristotle regards art as limited to the representation of *human* life. This limitation is of great importance in a comparative estimate of Greek and modern art, and, indeed, it is ultimately connected with the fundamental distinction between the Pagan and the Christian conceptions of the universe. To Aristotle, as to the Greek mind generally, inorganic nature was not in itself an object of art, but was merely a subordinate element in the representation of human life. Ultimately this exclusion of inorganic nature from the region of art was based upon the dualism of the finite and the infinite, the world and God. Nature is not conceived of as in any sense an expression of the Divine unity; but, as under the dominion of unchanging necessity, it is itself essentially dead and lifeless. No doubt Aristotle represents the world after the pattern of an ascending scale of being, the lowest being lifeless matter, and the highest man; but this does not mean that there is any actual transition from one form of being to another; nor does it mean that even the lowest is an expression of the divine nature. God is entirely beyond the world, not immanent in it; and if the process of finite things is explained by their effort after completeness, this effort is not referred to God as its author, except in the sense that each thing is striving after the completeness realised only by God. For Aristotle God is not the creator of the world, or the spirit whose influence finite things feel, but a self-centred Being, complete in Himself, and in no way actively related to the world. Nature, then, is for Aristotle a realm of

blind necessity, unilluminated by any ray of reason ; and hence it is not an object of art. This exclusion of nature from the realm of art, on the other hand, indicates that for Aristotle art is "imitation," not of mere external things, but of their ideal meaning.

Not only does Aristotle exclude inorganic nature from the sphere of art, but he also excludes all living beings except man. The artist may no doubt represent plants and animals as well as men, but only as adjuncts to his pictures of human life. The explanation is, that for Aristotle there is an absolute line of demarcation between the animals and man, the former being irrational, the latter rational. It, of course, follows that art is a representation of the rational life of man. This is what is implied in the definition of the object of art as "character, emotion and action," for these have a meaning only for a being whose life is carried on in the medium of reason. "Character" is the permanent ethical disposition, "emotion" the changing phases of the thinking subject, and "action" the external manifestation of his character and emotions. If, then, the artist has to "imitate" the self-conscious life of man, obviously he must be able to enter sympathetically into the inner life of man ; he must, in other words, present before his own mind the "form," or ideal meaning of human life ; and what he has to "imitate" is this ideal meaning. Now for Aristotle the meaning of human life is displayed in the various activities of the rational life, regarded from the point of view of the complete realisation of the rational nature. Human nature is, for him, like nature in general, a sum of balanced activities ; it is the realisation of what man in idea is ; and therefore the artist must be capable of representing man as he ideally is. On the other hand, he must represent the individual man, not man in general ; and to do this he must employ sensuous imagery, not abstract conceptions ; in other words, the function of the artist is to exhibit the ideal meaning of human life in concrete pictures, not in abstract ideas. His object is "men acting," *i.e.*, individual men as expressing their inner nature outwardly, whether in attitude, movement or speech.

The object of art, then, is to give a picture of human life in its ideal tendencies. "It is not the function of the poet," says

Aristotle, "to relate what has happened, but what may happen, —what is possible according to the law of probability or necessity. . . . Poetry, therefore, is a more philosophical and a higher thing than history; for poetry tends to express the universal (τὰ καθόλου), history the particular (τὰ καθ' ἕκαστον)." Poetry, in other words, is not a record of all that a particular man has experienced in his life, but only of those experiences which have a universal significance, because they exhibit the ideal possibilities of human nature. The poet has, therefore, even when he deals with a historical character, to fix upon some connected system of experiences and leave out all that falls beyond this system. Hence, in Aristotle's view, he must avoid all that is trivial and commonplace, or rather he must introduce nothing which does not throw light upon the higher tendencies of human nature. In tragedy, at least, only the life of heroic personages is the central theme. These personages are not different in their essential nature from ourselves, but they are of a grander type and undergo experiences such as do not fall to the lot of ordinary men. But, just because they exhibit in their character, emotions and actions what we should ourselves experience under the same conditions, they reveal to us that of which man is capable, not that which men have actually experienced. To the objection that poetry is fiction, Aristotle answers that it is not mere fiction, but a representation of the possibilities of human nature. We may say, in fact, that poetic truth represents a world which is more rational than the actual, because all the disturbing elements of actual life are eliminated, and the fundamental tendencies of human nature are allowed to develop themselves unchecked. In this sense poetry is more philosophical than history. It is not philosophy, because it presents the universal, not in the medium of pure thought, but in the form of concrete pictures of an individual life, but it is higher (σπουδαιότερον) than history, because it presents what human nature is, when freed from disturbing and accidental elements.

When, then, is the *end* of fine art? In dealing with this question we must remember that, for Aristotle, all the arts are means to the one supreme end of human well-being. There is but one supreme end, viz., the perfect realisation of human life. The practical arts are not an end in themselves, but merely means

to this supreme end. They enable man to secure the satisfaction of his material wants, or to supply the conditions of his moral and intellectual life. Even society or an organised state is the means to the attainment of complete self-satisfaction, and therefore the political art is not an end itself, but the means to an end. The fine arts, on the other hand, are not means, but ends in themselves: they constitute a part of that complete well-being which is the supreme end. This explains why Aristotle regards fine art as consisting in rational enjoyment. It is an entire misunderstanding to suppose that he regards art simply as a means to pleasure. Art results in pleasure, but its aim is not the production of pleasure. The pleasure of artistic enjoyment consists in the contemplation of man as he is in idea. The pleasure which is thus experienced can be felt only by one who can enter sympathetically into the artistic product, but in the enjoyment of this pleasure he attains what is an ingredient in a complete life.

ART AND MORALITY.

Since the end of art is a certain refined pleasure arising from the contemplation of man in his ideal tendencies, we must not estimate an artistic product from its direct moral tendency. The function of the artist is different from that of the teacher or statesman; he does not aim at making men better morally or better citizens, but endeavours to paint men as under certain ideal conditions they would act and feel. "The standard of correctness in poetry and politics is not the same, any more than in poetry and any other art" (*οὐχ ἡ αὐτὴ ὑποθέτης ἐστὶν τῆς πολιτικῆς καὶ τῆς ποιητικῆς, οὐδὲ ἄλλης τέχνης καὶ ποιητικῆς*: xxv. 3). No doubt Aristotle is here tacitly criticising Plato, who regards poetry as a means of moral and political education, and who therefore excludes all but didactic poetry. From this point of view Plato condemns the representation of the gods as deceitful, rancorous, changeable, on the ground that it can only have a pernicious influence on the hearer. To this doctrine Aristotle answers that the poet may legitimately represent the traditional beliefs of the people. "It may well be that these stories are not higher than fact nor yet true to fact. . . . But, anyhow, this is what is said" (xxv. 7.) Would Aristotle, then, say that *all* traditional stories of the gods are a legitimate object of poetic representation? No; not all stories in their crude form, but only

those stories or those elements which fit in with a consistent poetic whole. Besides, as we shall immediately see, he does not admit that the genuine poetic enjoyment can result from the representation of unrelieved wickedness. We have also to remember that, unlike Plato, Aristotle regards mythology as containing in an implicit form a genuine insight into the deeper truth of things. The myth gives a provisional satisfaction to that feeling of "wonder" which is the impulse to a consciousness of the deeper meaning of the world. The traditional stories of the gods are, on his view, the first attempts of men to rationalise life; to trace things back to a higher source, and explain the seeming contradictions in the universe. No doubt they narrate what never happened, and give an imperfect representation of the divine nature; but, after all, they lift man above the confused particulars of sense and enable him to represent things from a universal point of view. It is some such idea as this which underlies Aristotle's defence of the poet's right to employ the legendary stories of the gods. The objection that what is represented as actual fact never occurred does not affect him; poetry is not history, but an ideal representation of what might be; and it cannot be tested by the prosaic canon of its literal accuracy. And even if it does not represent what ought to be, *i.e.*, the ideal, it may still suggest a truth higher than it expresses, as is done by the anthropomorphic representations of the gods and heroes. The question which Aristotle here raises is evidently of perennial interest. If nothing but severely accurate statements of the divine nature are to be admitted in poetry, what are we to say of all anthropomorphic representations of the divine nature? At the present time there is a strong tendency among philosophic thinkers to deny that we can frame any positive conception of the divine nature. The absolute, it is said, cannot be defined as personal or self-conscious, for such a definition implies that God is "such a one as ourselves." Suppose it to be admitted that this contention is sound—though this is to my mind a view which cannot be philosophically substantiated—is the poet to exclude all representations of the divine, or to speak of God in the colourless terms demanded by current philosophy? The answer cannot be doubtful. Such a God can have no meaning for the majority of men. A purely abstract being, of whom we can

say nothing except that of it we can say nothing, will not help us to realise the divine meaning of life. The religious consciousness demands a God who does not remain enclosed within Himself and separated from the world and the human soul, but a God who is "not far from any one of us," who is revealed in each drop of water and present in idea in our own souls; and if philosophy cannot justify the reality of such a God to the reflective reason, "so much the worse for philosophy." Aristotle, himself, conceived of God as self-involved and beyond the sphere of nature and human life; but, with a splendid inconsistency, he also maintained that such a conception is unfitted for poetic representation. This inconsistency is inseparable from his system; but it may be taken as foreshadowing that reconciliation of poetry and philosophy which, as I think, Christianity enables us to accomplish. This point will be afterwards considered; meantime, we may from it partly see how Aristotle was unable to get a perfectly consistent theory of art. Poetry, as he rightly holds, must be concrete: it must speak in terms of the imagination, and therefore it may be allowed to employ legendary tales which the critical intellect must reject as inadequate representations of the divine nature. The defect in Aristotle's view is, that he hardly allows sufficiently for the characteristic truth of poetry. The imagination is not a mere makeshift, which has to be set aside when we have reached the stage of reflective thought; it is essential to a complete view of the world. Reflective thought is always abstract in this sense that it grasps reality in the form of its universal possibilities. But the universal becomes unreal unless it manifests itself in an infinity of concrete forms; and these can only be presented by the imagination. We must, therefore, regard poetry as, from one point of view, higher than science on the one hand, and philosophy on the other. Science lives in a region of abstraction: it treats one aspect of things as if it were the whole. Poetry represents the whole in the part: it shows how each part contains the principle of the whole. Philosophy again grasps the whole as a system, but it does not present the life and movement of the whole in the parts. Thus science, art and philosophy are all required, and are complementary of each other. We must observe, however, that, as each develops, the divisions between them do not indeed disap-

pear, but they are found to harmonize more closely; in fact, the distinction between science and philosophy is ultimately conventional. Philosophy does not exclude science, but is the completion of science; and art is the concrete presentation of what philosophy grasps in the medium of reflective thought. In this way the "old quarrel" of philosophy and poetry may be reconciled.

JOHN WATSON.

(To be continued.)

GOVERNMENT SUBSIDIES TO RAILWAYS IN UNSETTLED COUNTRY.

BOTH the Conservative and Liberal parties have for many years given their approval to the policy of government aid in the construction of railways into the unsettled sections of this country. In pursuance of this policy, the Dominion Parliament and the Local Legislatures have voted large sums of money and extensive grants of land to numerous chartered companies which had been formed for the purpose of undertaking this construction. Excluding the debts incurred in building the Intercolonial and Prince Edward Island Railways, and the original subsidies to the Canadian Pacific Railway, a total sum equalling nearly one-fourth of our national debt has already been paid in cash as subsidies and loans by Canada and the provinces to various railways throughout the country, whilst an extent of country equal to nearly two-thirds of Prussia has been voted in all in land grants to railways by the Dominion, some of which land grants are, however, not yet earned. A large amount of these money grants has been given to aid railways in the populous and enterprising parts of the country where a paying traffic from the first has been assured. On the other hand, many of the subsidies have been given to railways constructed into new or sparsely settled country with the object of aiding the settlement of these sections and the development of their agricultural or mineral re-

sources—building, in fact, ahead of population in order to attract population. In this case the railways have had to create their traffic, and have been at a decided disadvantage when compared with those railways which had a traffic ready awaiting their construction.

The time has now come when we should examine whether the results expected from the building of these subsidized roads have been accomplished; whether population has flowed into the sections of country tributary to the roads; whether enterprise has been stimulated in these sections and their resources are being developed; and whether the roads themselves have risen to that point so much desired by bondholders and shareholders, of being paying investments. These are matters of great importance to the Government and to the public.

In the last published Canadian railway statistics—those for 1896—seventy-nine railways furnish more or less full details of their operations. Excluding the four short electric roads which all show unsatisfactory results, and the coal, tunnel and bridge companies, there are only ten railways in Canada which pay full interest on either their bonded debts or their preferred stocks, whilst there are fifty-nine railways which fall short of paying full interest on their bonds or do not pay interest at all. Going into more specific details, there were sixteen railways which in that year had not sufficient traffic to pay even the expenses of operating them; there were twenty-seven other railways which paid expenses but did not give enough to earn one per cent on their bonds; whilst sixteen other roads showed somewhat better results, but failed to meet their bondholders' interest in full.

This is a very serious state of affairs. A very large amount of bonds of these defaulting roads is held in Great Britain. The London Stock Exchange Daily List gives in round numbers twenty-one millions of dollars as the amount of bonds, held in that market, of six Canadian railways, not one of whose traffic returns would suffice to meet in more than small part the interest due to the bondholders. And what is the result of these defaults to this country? If the evil stopped with the discredit among investors of the particular roads in question, we might take courage and hope for an improved condition of their traffic in the early future. Capital is, however, very sensitive over disasters.

Not only have all new railways—good as their prospects may be for large and paying traffic—had every discouragement thrown in their way by British and American financiers, but every industrial enterprise from Canada seeking capital in Great Britain during recent years has had extreme difficulty in interesting investors there. Railways afford an important gauge of the trade of a country, and if their traffic and their dividends are unsatisfactory, the average investor living three thousand miles away cannot be blamed if he has a suspicion in regard to the enterprises which are dependent on that trade.

When looking for the causes which have led to the default of so many subsidized railways, we are met with the fact that of the sixteen roads which do not pay the expenses of operating them, twelve were built into unsettled or very sparsely settled country, and that of the whole number of fifty-nine Canadian railways before referred to as unsatisfactory in their traffic results, forty-two have been constructed chiefly or entirely into country in advance of settlement where the traffic had to be in large part created in each case by the railway itself. The only conclusion to be drawn is that we have gone too fast with our plans for the development of our unsettled lands. In the west we have subsidized roads into vast stretches of prairie country to accommodate a population which coming in thousands where tens of thousands were hoped for, has distributed itself sparingly like a fringe along the hundreds of miles of railway in this North-west country. We are, in regard to some railways there, a quarter of a century in advance of a population and traffic that would warrant the construction of an extensive, costly railway system. In the East again, we have the existence of timber limits and the alleged abundance of timber and of undeveloped and comparatively untested minerals to tempt us to subsidize roads in districts that are unfitted for agriculture, and thus expensive railways have been built to accommodate traffic which pays only the very lowest rates of freight. Under any circumstances the traffic returns are small, but should the minerals prove disappointing in quantity or quality, or foreign customs regulations close the mines, or should the timber limits become exhausted, as is inevitable in time, these railways are left with only an impoverished and scanty population to depend on for local traffic. It is on these occasions that the

interest due the bondholders is allowed to go to default and when an outcry against Canadian investments is heard.

Everyone will heartily approve of the desire of our governments to encourage the settlement of the wild lands of the country and the development of its minerals. The real point for discussion is as to how this encouragement can be given without detriment to the interests of capital. Our railways cannot be built without the aid of the British investor and many other of our industrial enterprises are also dependent for their funds on his good opinion. To forfeit that good opinion by building unprofitable railways and selling to him their undesirable securities is to do harm to the best interests of the country by making it difficult or impossible to float future enterprises. It can of course be said that the legal maxim *caveat emptor* applies and that every English and foreign investor is bound to examine into the security before he buys the bonds or shares. We, however, have better information than he can possibly have and should not offer to him what we would not invest in ourselves.

Where the government does not desire to build the road itself, the remedy lies (1) in examining more closely the capabilities of the district to furnish a paying traffic before a subsidy for a railway through it is granted, (2) in giving the subsidy only to one of the already well established and financially strong railways which will undertake to construct a branch into the district, and will guarantee to operate it and provide for the interest on its bonds.

Full personal investigation will probably lead to the governments refusing many subsidies, but where it does grant them it will have this security that no strong railway corporation, with the interest on the bonds to pay and its own credit to maintain, would undertake the construction of more track into the new district than experience and investigation showed would give remunerative results. The government would thus relieve itself from any possible implied moral responsibility arising from the assumption that because it gave a subsidy, it approved of the construction of the line and had confidence in its paying powers.

What, in fine, needs to be clearly emphasized is that it is not being true to our own interests to prejudice the British and foreign money markets against Canadian enterprise hereafter, by

encouraging now by subsidies the construction of railways into country which cannot possibly furnish remunerative traffic, unless the government guarantees the entire interest of the bonds of the subsidized roads or takes care that some other financially strong railway company provides for this interest. We can plead some ignorance in the past, but we have experience now to guide us.

A. T. DRUMMOND.

THE THEORY OF SOLUTION.

FOR many years chemists and physicists found themselves embarrassed when asked to define a solution. The liquid resulting from the disappearance of a solid in a liquid possessed properties very difficult of explanation. That a greater change had occurred than the liquefaction of the solid and its diffusion through the solvent seemed to be certain, especially in view of the effects of solution upon chemical action.

As early as 1851 Williamson explained the reaction between sodium chloride and silver nitrate by saying that in the solution of each there was some of the metal separated from the acid radical; that the free silver combined with the free chlorine and the resulting insoluble silver chloride passed out of the reaction while more of each radical was then set free and the action repeated so long as there was a supply of the original constituents. In 1857 Clausius said that in a solution of copper sulphate there were some dissociated molecules. Work done in late years seems to prove that this dissociation is much greater than before thought possible. The chief names connected with the investigation of solutions are those of Arrhenius, Van t'Hoff and Ostwald.

If in a tall jar we place a layer of pure water over a solution of sugar, being careful not to mix them, the sugar molecules immediately begin to diffuse through the water, and the water molecules through the solution, and these movements cease only when

the whole volume of liquid is homogeneous. If now a partition permeable to water molecules but not to those of sugar, be placed between such a solution of sugar and a quantity of pure water, a pressure is immediately exerted on the partition. This pressure has for its cause the tendency of the molecules of sugar to pass outward, and the tendency of the water molecules to pass inward. The partition prevents the sugar molecules from wandering, but admits the water molecules. The movement of water into the solution will, therefore, continue so long as the solution on one side of the partition is of greater concentration than that on the other. This pressure is called osmotic pressure, and an apparatus for measuring it has been devised. A porous jar is coated with copper ferrocyanide or other semi-permeable substance, and in this jar is placed the solution of sugar. The jar is then closely connected with a long tube containing mercury, which acts as a manometer. If such an apparatus be now placed in a vessel of pure water, the height to which the column of mercury will rise will give us a measure of the osmotic pressure. Pfeffer, from such an experiment, obtained the following results :

a 1 per cent. solution of sugar gave a pressure of 53.8 cm. of mercury.

a 2 per cent. solution of sugar gave a pressure of 101.6 cm.

a 2.75 per cent. solution of sugar gave a pressure of 151.8 cm.

a 4 per cent. solution of sugar gave a pressure of 208.2 cm.

a 6 per cent. solution of sugar gave a pressure of 307.5 cm.

Allowing for the possible experimental error, and the fact that the membrane is not entirely impassable to sugar molecules at high pressure, we infer from the above that the *osmotic pressure is proportional to the concentration of the substance in the solution*. It has also been proved that the *osmotic pressure is proportional to the absolute temperature*.

Let us now recall the well known laws governing the behaviour of the gases under changes of temperature and pressure. Mariotte's law is an expression of the fact that the *volume of a given quantity of gas is inversely proportional to the pressure to which it is exposed, while the temperature remains constant*. The law of Charles states that *if the pressure remains constant the volume of a given quantity of gas is directly proportional to its absolute temperature*.

We at once see that the converse of each of the above statements is true, viz.: *The pressure exerted by a given quantity of gas is inversely proportional to the volume it is allowed to assume, while temperature is constant; and that the pressure of a given quantity of gas is directly proportional to the absolute temperature if the volume be kept constant.* To account for the above facts we have Avogadro's theory, which is of prime importance: *All gases under the same conditions of temperature and pressure contain in unit volume the same number of molecules.*

We have seen in connection with solutions that the osmotic pressure is directly proportional to the concentration. As the concentration is inversely proportional to the volume, the osmotic pressure is inversely proportional to the volume. This is identical with Mariotte's law for gases. We also saw that the osmotic pressure is directly proportional to the absolute temperature. So we find that the laws of gases hold for solutions, and this astonishing fact has been thus stated by Van t'Hoff: *The osmotic pressure of a substance in solution is the same as the pressure it would exert if it were in gas form at the same temperature and occupying the same volume.* Another way of stating this would be to say that a molecule of any substance dissolved in a given quantity of water exerts the same osmotic pressure at the same temperature as does a molecule of any other substance in the same volume. Let us apply this in the determination of molecular weight. One gram-molecule of oxygen (32 grams) occupies at zero Centigrade, and 76 cm. pressure, the volume of 22.4 litres and, according to Avogadro's theory, so does a gram-molecule of any other gas. If now we compress this molecule from 22.4 litres to one litre the pressure it will exert, according to Mariotte's law, will be 22.4 times one atmosphere; that is 22.4 times times 76 cm. of mercury. If this law holds for solutions, one gram molecule of any substance dissolved in one litre of water must exert an osmotic pressure of 22.4 times 76 cm. of mercury. Let us take a 2 per cent. solution of sugar, i.e., 20 grams per litre, which we saw exerts a pressure of 101.6 cm. We now have the relation: The weight taken, 20 g., is to the weight of the molecule, M , as the pressure found, 101.6 cm., is to the pressure exerted by a molecule, 22.4 times 76 cm.; or $20:M::101.6:(22.4 \times 76)$. From this $M = 335 +$. Theoretically, the molecular weight of sugar is 342,

and we consider the agreement to be very good when we take into account the imperfections in semi-permeable membranes. Similar results have been obtained for all soluble substances which do *not* conduct the electric current.

The usual method of determining the molecular weight of a substance is to reduce it to the gaseous state and compare the density of its vapor with that of hydrogen at the same temperature and pressure. In applying this method to ammonium chloride chemists expected to get a density of 26.8, and, therefore, a molecular weight of 53.4+. They did obtain as a result 13.4, and, therefore, a molecular weight of 26.8. A careful study of the experiment proved that while vaporized the salt is dissociated into ammonia and hydrochloric acid, thus yielding two molecules from one and occupying twice the expected space, and, therefore, giving a density only one-half the expected density. When we apply to ammonium chloride the solution method, as described above, we get similar results, showing that *in solution the salt has been dissociated*. All other substances that conduct the electric current behave in a similar way in solution, giving an osmotic pressure always greater than it should be, and the more dilute the solution, the more nearly is complete dissociation indicated by the pressure.

Arrhenius was the first to show that if in solutions we have the dissolved substances more or less separated into ions, we have an explanation of the abnormal behaviour above noted. He also found that those substances—and only those—which give abnormal osmotic pressures, are capable of conducting the electric current, and if these substances are dissolved in any solvent in which they give normal osmotic pressures, they, under such circumstances, lose their conducting power. Grotthus discovered that in solutions the electricity is carried bodily by particles of the dissolved substance, from one pole to the other. Faraday gave the name *ions* to the particles, and established the following law which is the basis of all electro-chemical work: All movements of electricity in electrolytes occur only by the concurrent movement of ions; and equal amounts of electricity move chemically equivalent amounts of the different ions.

Now, as all substances which conduct electricity give abnormal osmotic pressure, *i.e.*, have apparently too many molecules

present, and as the conduction of electricity by solutions is in virtue of there being ions present, formed from the molecules, then all electrolytes, *i.e.*, salts, acids and bases must, in solution, have ions present in them, and these act as molecules and increase the osmotic pressure. In infinitely dilute solutions the osmotic pressure is much greater than it should be, so we infer that in such solutions the molecules of the dissolved substance are approximately all dissociated into ions, each of which acts like a molecule in producing osmotic pressure.

A proof of this would be that the conductivity and the dilution of the electrolyte are mathematically proportional, and this has been rigidly proved.

In aqueous solutions, therefore, of acids, bases and salts, we have electrolytic dissociation into positive and negative ions, which are separated by the dielectric water. Alcohol produces this dissociation to a very slight extent, while ether, carbon disulphide, and other such solvents are inactive. The hydrogen of the acids and the metals of the bases and salts furnish positive ions, while the hydroxyls of bases, and the acid radicals of salts and acids form negative ions. A current of electricity passed through such solutions merely causes a concentration of positive ions at the negative electrode and of negative ions at the positive electrode. From a molecule of sodium chloride we get two ions, and therefore the osmotic pressure of its solution should, when very dilute, be twice the normal pressure, and this we find to be true. A molecule of sodium sulphate yields three ions, and the osmotic pressure agrees with this also. Let us now note that this theory will give explanations for phenomena which have long been known—but unexplained—by practical chemists.

A fundamental fact in analytical chemistry is that magnesium hydroxide is not precipitated by ammonium hydroxide if ammonium chloride in excess be present. In a solution of a magnesium salt to which ammonium hydroxide is added, the hydroxyl ions are the active agents in precipitation. By the addition of ammonium chloride, we greatly increase the number and proportion of ammonium ions, and thereby decrease the proportion of magnesium ions. As the proportion of ammonium ions increases there is a proportionate increase in the number of

contacts and combinations of ammonium with hydroxyl, and a decrease in the comparative opportunities of hydroxyl to combine with magnesium. In presence of excess of ammonium chloride the opportunities for hydroxyl to combine with magnesium will be so few comparatively that they may be disregarded.

It is found that barium is more completely precipitated as barium sulphate if an excess of sulphuric acid is present in the solution. The presence of the numerous SO_4 ions makes it almost impossible that any barium should escape contact with one of them, and hence precipitation is practically perfect. It is well known that KCl gives the reaction for chlorine, while KClO_3 does not do so. The reason for this we believe to be that the ionization of the molecule KClO_3 yields K and ClO_3 and no Cl ion. Again $\text{K}_4\text{Fe}(\text{CN})_6$ gives no precipitation of $\text{Fe}(\text{OH})_3$ when ammonium hydroxide is added to its solution, while all simple ferrous salts do so. As in the preceding case we have no ferrous ions but K ions and $\text{Fe}(\text{OH})_6$ ions. Prussian Blue— $\text{Fe}_4[\text{Fe}(\text{CN})_6]_3$, though containing both ferric and ferrous ions gives the reaction for the former only, as the latter is not free in the ionic condition.

The hydrogen ion is that portion of an acid which gives it its acidic properties, therefore the strength of an acid will be in proportion to the extent of its ionization. We measure this by comparing the conductivities of the various acids when one gram-molecule of each is dissolved in one litre of water. The results thus obtained agree with those reached by other accepted methods of estimating this important property. Similarly that base is strongest which sets free the greatest proportion of hydroxyl ions per cubic centimeter of equivalent solutions. We find by the above method that phosphoric, tartaric and acetic acids yield in solution a few hydrogen ions, while hydrocyanic acid, hydrogen sulphide, etc., are but very slightly dissociated. The strongest bases—potassium hydroxide and sodium hydroxide—are very completely ionized; ammonium hydroxide much less; while such bases as ferrous hydroxide and magnesium hydroxide yield very few ions. It is probable that the action of water, as both a very weak acid and a very weak base is due to its being ionized, though to a very slight extent, indeed, as shown by its great resistance to the electric current,

An objection likely to be made to the above theory is that if we have free ions—say of chlorine—in an aqueous solution, they would pass out and be recognized by colour and odour. The potassium and sodium ions might also be expected to betray their presence by decomposing the water in contact with them. We should, however, remember, that we know little or nothing of the properties of these substances in the atomic state. The ions are also probably charged heavily with electricity, which would further modify their behaviour. Again, it may be objected that it is our most stable substances—potassium chloride, sulphuric acid, etc.—which are said to be most completely dissociated, and merely by the presence of excess of water. These substances are stable only when judged by such an arbitrary standard as their resistance to the dissociating power of heat. They are, on the contrary, very unstable chemically, as shown by their great activity when in contact with other substances. The above applications are only a few of those in which the theory will be found useful, and may be safely used until found inadequate or until a better theory is offered.

W. T. McCLEMENT.

THE MUSE AND THE MORTAL.

“DUCKS and drakes” was a seaside game of one's boyhood. Its name is a shade unintelligible, perhaps, but the game was simple. A flat pebble or a splinter of slate was made to skim the surface of the waves, to dip and emerge, once, twice, thrice, or even oftener, a feat involving a little but not much skill—and then the plaything sank and was forgotten. It is a pleasant thing to find that centuries ago the Roman children amused themselves with the same game—it is one more proof that after all the ancients were human.

When one comes to ripened years, we find the same enjoyment in playing the game over again in literature. “Duck and drake” criticism will always be congenial to man. It is not *very*

difficult, it is essentially superficial, and when it is done we can forget it with a light heart. Another and more respectable name for it is the conjunct view. Perhaps after all it has a value. A friend of mine was one day playing with some celts, the stone axe-heads of our ancestors, and noticed that, lying on their sides, they would revolve freely one way and not the other. He was a mathematician, and he worked out the laws or, at least, found the cause underlying it all, and science gained something. Perhaps a little "duck and drake" criticism, turning on a point of some interest, may waken a desire somewhere to go deeper into the matter, and to work out more fully a line of study that can only be hinted at here.

We have heard a good deal of late of the interpretation of life by the poets, and it may be permissible to narrow down the range of inquiry to a single point, and by a process of comparison of some more or less typical views to attempt to reach a sounder judgment of their merits or demerits.

A study of Horace has led me to remark the persistence of a note in his poetry, which we are apt to miss in the general cheeriness of his utterances—the thought of death. By accident reading two other poets about the same time, who have the same thought continually recurring to them, I was led to try to arrange my impressions. To these I add two others, in whom I have long been interested, and I would wish to sketch (with the Aristotelian apology that it must be "in outline and not with precision") the outstanding features of the presentment of the thought by all five.

Robert Browning shall be my starting point*. He, if I read him aright, is, if any one, "sure of range above the limits here." Life and its work interest him, and death would seem merely one and not the last of a series of experiences. Life will continue thereafter and death is an episode and little more. Abt Vogler sees "on the earth the broken arcs, in the heaven a perfect round." The Patriot is calm in the face of martyrdom in his conviction, "'Tis God shall repay: I am safer so." The Poet may go through life in "that old coat"—"a second and the

*A friend whose province it is warns me I may not understand Browning, and as I am a law-abiding person and do not like to be found underneath the notice "Trespassers will be prosecuted," I enter this *caveat lector*, at the same point hoping my *obiter dictum* on the poet is not very far wrong.

angels alter that." The Householder's final flourish, "Affliction sore long time he bore," is corrected by the wife to "I end with—Love is all and Death is nought." The theme of "Evelyn Hope" is eventual completion. The Grammarian's funeral is full of the same.

"God surely will contrive

Use for our earning.

Others mistrust and say, 'But time escapes :

Live now or never !'

He said, 'What's time ? Leave Now for dogs and apes !

Man has Forever.'

"Wilt thou trust death or not ?" He answered 'Yes.' "

I let the poet tell his own tale, and I think it is clear. More illustrations could easily be gathered, but perhaps we may sum all up in a short piece. I quote intact :

PROSPICE

Fear death?—to feel the fog in my throat,
 The mist in my face,
 When the snows begin, and the blasts denote
 I am nearing the place,
 The power of the night, the press of the storm,
 The post of the foe ;
 Where he stands, the Arch Fear in a visible form,
 Yet the strong man must go :
 For the journey is done and the summit attained,
 And the barriers fall,
 Though a battle's to fight ere the guerdon be gained,
 The reward of it all.
 I was ever a fighter, so—one fight more,
 The best and the last !
 I would hate that death bandaged my eyes, and forbore,
 And bade me creep past.
 No ! let me taste the whole of it, fare like my peers
 The heroes of old,
 Bear the brunt, in a minute pay glad life's arrears
 Of pain, darkness and cold.
 For sudden the worst turns the best to the brave,
 The black minute's at end,
 And the elements' rage, the fiend-voices that rave,
 Shall dwindle, shall blend,

Shall change, shall become first a peace out of pain,
 Then a light, then thy breast,
 O thou soul of my soul ! I shall clasp thee again,
 And with God be the rest !

Passing to Horace, we find his ideas of life and death rest on an assumption diametrically opposite.

Vitæ summa brevis spem nos vetat inchoare longam.

Life's sum is short and ever-teaching
 One lesson—frame not hopes far-reaching.

The suggestion of spring to him is once and again :

*Immortalia ne speres monet annus, et alium
 Quæ rapit hora diem.*

That you hope not hopes immortal, the new year
 Preaches clear,
 And the onward rush of time that sweeps away
 The glad day.

Quintilius dies, and Horace reflects that he is dead and there's no more to be said—not heartlessly, but by way of comforting Virgil. Archytas dies and we all must die. He writes a fine ode to Dellius, *moriture Delli*—"Dellius doomed to die ;" but it is hardly melancholy—its burden is "Make the best of life—die you must, whether you enjoy yourself or afflict yourself, so when pine and poplar weave a hospitable shade for you and the stream ripples and babbles hard by, what is better than the cup and the crown, for even the roses fall?" He does not, however, mean the life of indulgence, but the life of real enjoyment, depending on a well-balanced spirit which neither hope nor fear, desire nor sorrow, throws out of gear. *Aequam memento rebus in arduis servare mentem.* His prescription for a happy life is to count each day one's last, in which case each to-morrow will be a glad surprise. A man should so live that when the time comes he may retire gracefully like a guest at the end of a banquet: *exacto contentus tempore vita cedat uti conviva satur.* Why vex yourself with great ambitions, why *sepulcri immemor* build the palace when you can be as happy in the cot or under the oak, why leave your wine to a scallawag* heir ? Friendship and a farm will give you the best

*March, 1898, has seen this word added to the Parliamentary vocabulary by Lord Charles Beresford, and I make no apology.

of life. A bright, sunny, peaceful and joyous life is possible for every one. Death is not the Arch-Fear so much as the Arch-Fact, relevant only because it puts an end to the possibilities of life. Do not fear it, but remember it and live while you can. *Vive memor quam sis aevi brevis.* It is the schoolboy and his holiday, to be the more enjoyed because school begins again so soon. Whatever we do, *ire tamen restat Numa quo devenit et Ancus*, and where do good myths go when they die? A short poem may again sum up a poet's teaching :

Never seek you to learn, Leuconoe,
What end the gods assign to you or me ;
'Tis sin to be too curious. Meddle you
Nor with Chaldeans nor Astrology.

Whatever comes, bear that, and ask no more
If Jupiter have other years in store,
Or if we see this our last winter break
The Tuscan billows on the rocky shore.

Be wise and strain the wine, for life is short,
Trim down your hopes. Look you ! grim Time makes sport
To fly while thus we talk. The present snatch,
The future trust not you in any sort.*

We can see that both these poets can look on death without whimpering, *siccis oculis*. One sees another life ahead and he trusts Providence, the other sees that even if this life is all, it is very good, and he thanks Providence (if there be one). Both enjoy and make the best of what is with them.

Our next man is different :

" Of Heaven or Hell he has no power to sing,
He cannot ease the burden of your fears,
Or make quick-coming death a little thing,
Or bring again the pleasure of past years,
Nor for his words shall ye forget your tears,
Or hope again for aught that he can say,
The idle singer of an empty day."

William Morris' *Earthly Paradise* is a delightful book, but throughout there is a nervous anxiety to remember to forget

*" A poor thing, sir, but mine own," said Touchstone. Once more I make no apologies, for no poet worth translating can be or ever has been fully translated.

death, which occurs again and again. The prospect cannot be calmly viewed as by Horace, it cannot be escaped, and it means misery. Happiness has always this canker of memory :

“ Yea, by so much the happier that we were
By just so much increased on us our fear...
For loss of youth to us was loss of peace.”

“ Striving my pleasure from my pain to sift,
Some weight from off my fluttering mirth to lift.”

“ I held my breath
And shuddered at the sight of Eld and Death.
Alas ! Love passed me in the twilight sun,
His music hushed the wakening ousel's song ;
But on these twain shone out the goldening sun,
And o'er their heads the brown bird's tune was strong,
As shivering, 'twixt the trees they stole along ;
None noted aught their noiseless passing by,
The world had quite forgotten it must die.”

It is Damocles *destrictus ensis cui super impia cervice pendet*.

Damocles cannot get away from the sword, but instead of saying with Horace cheerfully, “ If it must fall, it must, but I can be happy till it does,” Damocles says “ I can't be happy unless I forget it is there.” It is a less manly tone and marks a lower grade than the genial, honest Sabine of Venusia.

A similar nervous sense of the nearness or at least inevitability of death haunts another, Christina Rossetti. Her moods vary a good deal. Sometimes

“ Life is not sweet. One day it will be sweet
To shut our eyes and die.”

Sometimes

“ If I might see another spring
I'd laugh to-day, to-day is brief ;
I would not wait for anything :
I'd use to-day that cannot last,
Be glad to-day and sing.”

Then she takes consolation in the next world, not quite as Browning does, because it completes this, but because it makes this insignificant and puts it out of the account. Again death *per se* comes upon her with a chill and a horror :

" Not in a dream, but in the literal truth,
 With all Death's adjuncts ghastly and uncouth,
 The pang that is the last, and the last sigh,"

and so forth. Not a very healthy temper this. Not strong enough to get rid of the thought, she lives in its rather morbid company, fascinated by it as the bird by the snake, but not crushed. Perhaps two verses, almost the last she wrote, illustrate her attitude better than any else.

" Heaven overarches earth and sea,
 Earth-sadness and sea-bitterness,
 Heaven overarches you and me :
 A little while and we shall be—
 Please God—where there is no more sea
 Nor barren wilderness.
 Heaven overarches you and me,
 And all earth's gardens and her graves,
 Look up with me, until we see
 The day break and the shadows flee,
 What though to-night wrecks you and me
 If so to-morrow saves ?"

We come now to our fifth poet, Propertius, a contemporary of Horace and the embodiment of nearly everything Horace did not like—passionate, puling and pedantic. Three times he incidentally tells us of his constitutional pallor, how bloodless he is—a dandy, too, and a man of dissolute and self-indulgent life. His muse was his mistress, and Cynthia was no Urania. With all its elements of power (or, perhaps, skill) and grace, his verse is as little robust as himself, " too white, for the flower of life is red." It reflects his morbid humour, his self-consciousness, his gloom and querulousness. Mr. Postgate remarks on his " ahs " and " heu's," his " egos " and " nosters," his tears and complaints." Probably a poor physique, further weakened by vice, may explain the morbidness and the absence of self-control.* Death has a horrible fascination for him, but not at all in the same way as for Christina Rossetti. He likes to picture himself dead, bones, ashes, dust, and then imagine what the passer-by will say, what the lover will say, what Cynthia will say.

*While it should be remembered that death is the common stock-in-trade of the elegiac poets, Propertius shows his individuality by harping on it to excess.

*An poteris siccis mea fata reponere ocellis ?
ossaque nulla tuo nostra tenere sinu ?*

Or canst thou tearless think upon my fate,
Nor to thy bosom gather up my bones ?

Will Cynthia be faithful to his ashes in the tomb ? He wishes to be buried from her house, and then if Maecenas drives past his grave, will he be so kind as to stop his British carriage and, dropping a tear on the silent ashes, say " Poor wretch ! a cruel woman was his fate." Then come hysterics. He will die in his youth and Cynthia will not care :

*Sic igitur prima moriere aetate, Properti ?
sed morere, interitu gaudeat illa tuo.
exagitet nostros manes, sectetur et umbras,
insultetque rogis, calcet et ossa mea.*

In earliest youth wilt draw thy latest breath ?
Die, then ! and let her triumph in thy death,
My ghost, my phantom of her memory cheat,
Insult my grave, my bones tread under feet.

Cheerful predictions of this type are not always fulfilled. As it happened she died first and he forgot her—that is, after he had written a characteristic elegy about her ghost, who promises that their bones shall at last mingle in a *post mortem* embrace. No wonder Horace had no patience with " the new Callimachus."

A wave or two more to be topped and our pebble shall sink. The ancient feeling toward life and death may, perhaps, on the whole be illustrated (if such a thing can be done) by a single line of Virgil, which defies translation :

Sunt lacrimae rerum et mentem mortalia tangunt.

The mediæval is nearer Miss Rossetti's, and St. Bernard may serve us :

" Here life how vanishing ! short is our banishing ! brief is our pain ;
There life undying, the life without sighing, our measureless gain,
Rich satisfaction, a moment of action, eternal reward,
Strange retribution, for depth of pollution, a home with the Lord."

Browning shews a further stage. But to generalize is dangerous, for where are we to class Horace and William Morris ?

T. R. GLOVER.

SUMMER CLASSES.

FOR four summers past Queen's has offered instruction in various branches of science to teachers and others unable to attend during the winter sessions. The aim in this work has always been to guide and direct the studies of extra-mural students, to remove difficulties, and to repeat as many as possible of the thousand and one experiments and demonstrations so necessary for those who are reading for a degree without the assistance of properly equipped laboratories. The attendance has never been large, but the quality of the students who have come—their enthusiasm, their energy, their patient industry, their success at the subsequent regular University examinations have been so conspicuous, that the Senate has, this year for the first time, agreed to recognize the summer classes as an integral part of the work of the University. Henceforth, Queen's will be open for instruction every month in the year.

Hitherto the instruction offered has been in science only. In July, 1898, instruction is also offered in classics. The reasons that determined the Senate to place Latin upon the curriculum were twofold. In the first place, it was found that the summer students in science were generally unprepared to enter the junior class in Latin. In the second place, it was felt that public school teachers in villages and towns in which there is no high school should be encouraged to acquire a knowledge of Latin in order to teach the "continuation classes" authorized by the Minister of Education. Much as our school system is praised, we have not in Ontario reached John Knox's ideal—a graduate* in every parish school. Instead, we have "a graduate" of one of our high schools and model schools, with her head crammed full of a strange medley of fashion plates, novels, and the appalling rubbish called psychology. Is it any wonder that with such teachers in charge, farmers' sons of 18 and 21 years of age, who twenty-five years ago used to go to school during the winter months, now decline to do so? Would they not attend if "Domsie" were the teacher? "Domsie," with his unerring scent for a "lad o' pairts;" who,

from his little country school, sent to college "seven ministers, four schoolmasters, four doctors, one professor, and three civil service men, besides many others to mercantile pursuits." The bald truth is that with teachers like Domsie and inspectors like the "Doctor," the public schools of Ontario could have done a thousand times more for our people than all the high schools and normal schools put together. The dead uniformity, the complicated machinery, the crudeness and inexperience of the teachers, the petty ambition of passing examinations, the self-conceit and self-complacency engendered in the pupils, are enough to crush out every vestige of a desire of knowledge for its own sake.

Queen's; the child of necessity, and nurtured by the gifts of her grateful sons, is trying to do what she can to place a Domsie in every country school. By her extra-mural work and her summer classes she offers to aid struggling teachers to attain a degree in arts, and she hopes in time to be able to form a public sentiment in favor of permanent teachers in our larger public schools.

With this aim in view we make no apology for inserting in the *QUARTERLY* the courses of instruction offered for the summer session of July, 1898:

A.—ANIMAL BIOLOGY.

Prof. A. P. Knight, M.A., M.D.

1. Beginners' class. Lectures with laboratory work.
 2. Advanced class. Histology, lectures and practical work with the microscope.
- Open to those who have taken course 1, or its equivalent.

B.—LATIN.

Asst. Prof. A. B. Nicholson, B.A.

1. An elementary class dealing with grammar, easy reading and exercises in prose composition.
 2. An advanced class. The reading of an author, with prose exercises based on the text.
- Open only to those who have taken course 1, or its equivalent.

GREEK.

1. An elementary class, as in Latin.
 2. An advanced class, as in Latin.
- Open only to those who have taken course 1, or its equivalent.

C.—CHEMISTRY.

Adolf Lehmann, Ph.D. (Leipsic).

1. A course of lectures in General Chemistry with laboratory practice.

2. Qualitative analysis.

3. Quantitative analysis.

Open only to those who have previously taken courses 1 and 2, or their equivalent.

OCCASIONAL LECTURES.—Occasional lectures will be delivered in the John Carruthers Science Hall by the following Professors:

Selected Topics in English Literature—Prof. J. Cappon, M.A.

Lectures in Political Science—I. The Economic Relations of Chemical Industries. II. The Biological Basis of Civilization. III. Bi-metallism. Prof. Adam Short, M.A.

Lectures in Mental Diseases.—I. Imbecility in Relation to Organic Evolution. II. Insanity in Relation to Organic Evolution. Prof. C. K. Clarke, M.D., Superintendent of Rockwood Hospital for the Insane.

Further information may be had on application to the Registrar, George Y. Chown, B.A.

A. P. KNIGHT.

THE THEOLOGICAL ALUMNI CONFERENCE.

THE Conference this year was the most successful yet held, as regards the numbers attending, the sustained interest, and the character of the papers and discussions. The general conviction is that these Conferences have passed the experimental stage, that they have come to stay, and that the aim now should be to broaden them to include alumni generally. In this as in some other matters, Queen's has set an example which other Colleges and Universities have followed, and we sincerely trust that they, too, shall receive benefit and suggest in their turn improvements and new ideas, or initiate movements for us to follow.

The programme of the seventh Conference, which begins February 13th, 1899, at 3 p.m., is as follows :—

MONDAY.

3 p.m.—Interpretation of modern life by modern poets. Prof. Cappon. Discussion led by Professor Dyde and John Marshall, M.A.

8 p.m.—The relation of the pulpit to political and social life, and to the press as the principal exponent of modern life. Papers by Rev. D. C. Hossack, LL.B., and John Cameron, Esq., editor London *Advertiser*. Discussion led by the Rev. Messrs. Thomas, Peck, Currie and Thompson.

TUESDAY.

10–12 a.m.—Isaiah and Micah. Paper by Rev. W. G. Jordan. Discussion led by the Rev. Messrs. Hutcheon and J. R. Fraser.

Noon.—The Chancellor's Lectureship. Professor Watson on "Christianity in relation to the State and Society."

3 p.m.—The Church in the 4th century. Prof. Glover. Discussion led by the Rev. Herbert Symonds. (Read *The Arian Controversy* by Gwatkin).

4.30 p.m.—Business meeting of the Conference.

8 p.m.—The outlook for the Canadian nation. Rev. G. S. Bland. The message of the Church to Canada and the Empire. The Principal. Discussion led by Professors Shortt and Goodwin, and N. R. Carmichael, M.A.

WEDNESDAY.

10–12 a.m.—Prophecy in the 7th century B.C. Paper by Rev. A. Laird. Discussion led by the Rev. Messrs. Atkinson, Houston, Moore and Jordan.

Noon.—The Chancellor's Lectureship.

3 p.m.—Interpretation of modern life by modern poets. Prof. Cappon. Discussion led by George Mitchell, M.A., and W. L. Grant, M.A.

8 p.m.—The new Anthropology and its bearing on the work of the Christian preacher. Papers by Rev. J. A. Sinclair and Rev. Dr. McTavish. Discussion led by Rev. John Millar and Prof. Ross.

THURSDAY.

10–12 a.m.—The Prophet Jeremiah. Paper by Rev. John Millar. Discussion led by the Rev. Messrs. Neil McPherson, W. G. Jordan and S. G. Bland.

Noon.—The Chancellor's Lectureship.

3 p.m.—The Church in the 4th century. Professor Glover. Discussion led by the Rev. H. Symonds.

8 p.m.—Ritschlianism; paper by Rev. Mr. Scott. The History of Christian Doctrine to the Council of Nice; paper by Rev. John Hay. Discussion led by Rev. Messrs. R. Laird and R. J. Craig. (Books to be read: Ritschl's *Instruction in the Christian Religion*. Harnack, vol. I).

FRIDAY.

10–12 a.m.—The Psalter, Books IV and V. Rev. Dr. Milligan. Discussion led by Rev. Messrs. McGillivray and James A. Grant. (Book to be read: *The Origin of the Psalter*, by Cheyne).

Noon.—The Chancellor's Lectureship.

3 p.m.—The Church in the 4th century. Professor Glover. Discussion led by Rev. H. Symonds and R. Laird.

8 p.m.—The relations between Legislation and Morality. Paper by A. Haydon, M.A. Discussion led by Professors Shortt and Dyde.

Admission to the afternoon and evening Conferences free to members; to others by ticket. Tickets for the week, 50c., obtained at the book stores; students' tickets, 25c., obtained from the Registrar.

Lunch will be served daily in the Museum for those members who give in their names on Monday evening to the Secretary.

Forenoon Conferences meet in the English class-room; noon and evening in the Junior Philosophy room; afternoon in Convocation Hall.

JOHN D. BOYD, B.A., Kingston,
Secretary-Treasurer.

G. M. MILLIGAN, D.D., Toronto, *President.*

BOOK REVIEWS.

The History of Canada. By William Kingsford, LL.D., F.R.S. Vol. IX.

THE ninth volume of this valuable History has appeared, and it covers a period of twenty-one years, from 1815 to 1836, the eve of the Rebellion; one of the most important periods of Canadian History. It is characterized by the same exact research and judicious treatment which marked the earlier volumes.

By the Constitutional Act of 1791 Canada had been divided into two Provinces, to each of which a separate government had been accorded, consisting of a Governor, a Legislative Assembly elected by forty shilling freeholders, a Legislative Council nominated for life by the Crown, and an Executive Council, also nominated by the Crown, the members of which were not necessarily members of either House, and therefore not responsible to Parliament. The evils almost certain to arise from such a form of government become especially apparent in this ninth volume.

The men who composed the Executive were unimpeachable in their integrity of purpose, in their ability and patriotism, but they were lacking in the essentials of statesmanship; they had little of the large and far-seeing views which distinguish members of the British Executive. But the Home Government, unwilling to confide much power to the Canadian Executive, retained a large measure of authority in its own hands, though it may be supposed that it would be largely guided by the suggestions of the Governor and his Executive. The government of a colony 3,000 miles distant, and with which the means of communication were slow, would under these circumstances be naturally most unsatisfactory. The debates in the British Parliament show that the condition of Canada was very imperfectly understood even by the best and most able of the Cabinet Ministers, and when complaints and remonstrances from the Canadians were sent to the Home Government they received little attention.

When Lord Dalhousie, a man of great prudence and ability, was Governor these difficulties and these dangers were, perhaps, less apparent; yet his term of office was not without its trials, his character was not understood, and the Legislative Assembly showed to him a hostility which was wholly unjustifiable.

It is, however, very possible that the ill-will of the Assembly was rather due to the growing discontent with the general mode of government, of which he was the representative, than with Lord Dalhousie himself. His despatches exonerate him from blame, they show that he fully recognized his obligations both to the Home Government and to the colony, and that he conscientiously discharged his duties. His position, however, was anything but enviable, his actions were controlled by the Home

Government, and this gave to his administration a semblance of arbitrariness.

At the same time the Canadian Legislative Assembly was claiming for itself more extended powers and a fuller representation. After five years Lord Dalhousie left for England on private business, but he did not return. He was succeeded by Sir James Kempt, who, however, remained for only a little over two years, when Lord Aylmer entered on the duties of government.

The discontent in the Assembly, and among the French Canadian population generally, was growing. On the 8th of March, 1831, Mr. Neilson moved twelve resolutions—a Grand Remonstrance—and after a debate lasting some ten days, Mr. Bourdages moved that no subsidy should be granted till the grievances were redressed, and the motion was seconded by Mr. Lafontaine, afterwards Sir Hypolite Lafontaine. An acrimonious debate followed, in which Mr. Papineau took a prominent part, but the motion was defeated by 41 to 11.

Though Dr. Kingsford's accuracy throughout this interesting narrative cannot be doubted, we confess to a feeling that he does not fully appreciate the difficulties in which the French population was placed, nor sympathise with their complaints or resolutions. As we look back on that period we must acknowledge that the character of the government was very faulty, and under George III. and George IV. there was little improvement to be looked for. There was a lack of consistency and firmness in the successive English ministers, and the Colonial Secretaries were not marked by much ability or fitness for their office. The very great depression in Britain, which affected every element of trade and commerce, and the great suffering of the lower classes, engrossed nearly the entire attention of the British government, and almost in each successive Parliament for some ten years there was introduced a Reform Bill, and this tended to foster an almost continuous agitation. In this way the attention of the Home Government was entirely taken up with Home affairs, and it paid little attention to the necessities of a colony so distant, and whose conditions, and still more, whose advantages and capacities were not understood. The remonstrance or resolutions of Mr. Neilson while they stated grievances suggested no remedy.

No one Canadian and no one in England seems to have thought of advocating what has since proved the great panacea—the system of responsible government—which was only first advocated by Lord Durham in his celebrated report. But while we cannot fail to see the very actual grievances under which the French Canadian population was suffering, we do not think that they were justified in having recourse to arms in 1837-8. But this is anticipating Dr. Kingsford's next volume. The present volume closes with the prorogation of the Lower Canadian Parliament in September, 1836, the last Parliament of that Province.

To Dr. Kingsford this History has been a work of love, and he has certainly discharged this work with conscientious accuracy and with much ability, and we can strongly recommend his most valuable narrative to every student of Canadian or even Colonial History.

G. D. F.

Christianity and Idealism: The Christian Ideal of Life in its relations to the Greek and Jewish Ideals, and to Modern Philosophy. By John Watson, LL.D.
Second Edition. New York: The Macmillan Co. \$1.75.

It is pleasant to find that this excellent book, reviewed some time ago in these columns, has already in the course of a few months advanced to a second edition. We are not at all surprised that it should be so. It contains a helpful word for many. There is a large class of persons who feel on the one hand that in Christianity is given the noblest, most satisfying, truest conception of human life; on the other, that much in the traditional interpretation of it has become obsolete, hopelessly discordant with the way of looking at the world, which none of us can altogether escape imbibing from the mental atmosphere we breathe, in these latter times. Such persons will find here, what is a great help, a very convincing statement of what the faith of Jesus essentially is, as well as a masterly exhibition of the inadequacy of all such negative systems as would cut away the ground on which it rests. They will find, too, combined with that, the fullest recognition of the permanent contribution of ideas which the modern scientific movement has added to the intellectual heritage of mankind.

This second edition is very much enriched by the absence of the prefatory notice attached to the first edition—not the pro-

duction of Dr. Watson, and of quite a different spirit from his—and by the addition of three chapters—Materialism, Evolution and Human Progress—which, apart from the greater roundness they impart to the whole treatment, appear to us to be among the very best and most lucid in the whole book. It is shown in the most convincing way, and with the utmost possible brevity, that Materialism altogether fails to account for the whole wealth of reality as we know it, and that Evolution, when fully interpreted, inevitably leads to a view of the world as the progressive manifestation of self-conscious reason. On the whole we know of no work where the dominant ideas of our time are co-ordinated with Christianity with so much power and insight as in this little book.

JOHN MACNAUGHTON.

The Olynthiac Speeches of Demosthenes. Edited with introduction and notes by T. R. Glover, M.A., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, Professor of Latin in Queen's University, Kingston, Canada.

This unpretending edition of the Olynthiacs is a piece of honest and able work, and can be heartily recommended for use in schools and colleges. The introduction is a remarkably clear, brief account of one of the most perplexed and obscure periods in Greek History, the rise of Philip of Macedon, and proves unmistakably that the author possesses in a high degree the qualities and training necessary for historical investigation. The notes are useful and bright. They are in fact, while showing abundance of learning, eminently and refreshingly free from that erudite dullness which is apt to cling to labours of this kind. The school-boy who studies here will have his fancy quickened and his author brought home to his own "business and bosom" by many flashes of felicitous translation, and by frequent quaint suggestions of similarity between those remote events and situations and the politics of his own time and country. He will feel that after all Hecuba is something to him and he to Hecuba. This little edition is a happy outcome and sign of that fresher and more living method of classical study which is nowadays happily taking the place of the time-honoured gerund-grinding and root-grubbing familiar to most of us in the days of our youth.

JOHN MACNAUGHTON.

CURRENT EVENTS.

THOUGH war clouds lower everywhere, the real danger signal at present is hung out only over Western Africa, so far as Great Britain is concerned. It sounds almost incredible that two nations like Britain and France should fight about Nikki and Boussa, places of which we know only the names, and which may be as valueless as the Nootka Sound which excited all England against Spain in the eighteenth century. Twenty or thirty years ago, the mere suggestion would have provoked universal and irresistible ridicule. But, right or wrong, public opinion is a unit on the point, that France—having taken possession of places which she knew to be under British protection and through one of which she could interfere with the free navigation of the Lower and Middle Niger—must, with or without phrases, give them up. On this all parties are agreed, the calm and philosophic London *Spectator* going so far as to urge the immediate mobilising of a very powerful special service squadron, as an intimation to France that we mean business and are ready for war. The calling out of the flying squadron in January, 1896, had such an effect on the German Emperor that, it is argued, it would be well now to try the same argument again. The effect would not necessarily be the same. The Emperor knew that in the event of war his fleet and his colonies would be in our hands at short notice. But the French fleet is a different force altogether; and besides, M. Hanotaux—especially with the elections coming on—cannot afford to retire from an untenable position as quietly as the Kaiser. Still, he is a strong, level-headed man, and unless he has the promise of Russian support—a most unlikely contingency—he will retire; for it is as clear as anything future can be, that France stands to lose much and to gain nothing in a war with a decidedly stronger naval power.

The reason why the cabinet refuses to yield to France on the Niger, though it has yielded in Siam, Madagascar and Tunis, shows the importance of free river routes and open ports to a commercial people. For these it must be ready to fight. France has been allowed—in the course of her eager advance from the north—to cut off the hinter-land of some of our old West African colonies, and thus to doom them to stagnation or atrophy; but the line is peremptorily drawn when she encroaches on a river which is navigable for hundreds of miles up to Say, where the cataracts commence, and beyond which, therefore, no claim has ever been made by Great Britain. Her position is similar everywhere else. No

objection was made to Germany taking possession of extensive sandy deserts on the south-west coast of Africa and making as much as she possibly could out of them ; but Walfisch Bay, the only harbour on the coast, was retained, and over it the Union Jack continues to fly, in the interest—it may be said without the slightest phariseeism—of the German colonists, as well as of every one else for all time. On the opposite side, when it was decided by arbitration that Delagoa Bay, the only good entrance through the swamps and marshes of the east coast to the healthy uplands of the Transvaal, belonged to Portugal, Great Britain was satisfied when her contention was agreed to, that it was not to be sold to any other power until she had the opportunity given her of declining to buy. The same policy dictated the acquisition of Zanzibar and Mombassa, in exchange for the free hand given to France in Madagascar. Sir Herbert Kitchener's advance up the Nile, and the treaty recently concluded with "the king of kings," whose defeat of the Italians has made him respected by European powers, have for their purpose the one end of securing the Nile, from the mouth to its sources, a necessity in this case because a civilized country in control of the sources could—if it chose—dry up the river and turn Egypt into a desert. The same consistent policy, in her own interest but none the less in the interest of small states and all that desire freedom of commerce, dictates the course she is pursuing in the far East, without hasting and without wavering, regardless of the clamours to strike here, to clutch there, to seek alliances with somebody or, at any rate, to do something, before she is hopelessly outwitted and outgeneralled. Why not unite with the Dreibund ? was once the cry. Then, when Italy's weakness was revealed and Germany became unpopular, and Austria Hungary was threatened with paralysis through internal racial dissensions, the same wise men suggested an understanding with Russia and France. And later, when it looked as if Russia, France and Germany had agreed to partition China, the cry became, unite with Japan or you will be overwhelmed. "The weary Titan," as Matthew Arnold preposterously called her, calmly listens, attends to her own business, keeps her powder dry, and states her position as the friend of all and the enemy of none. Open ports and the great rivers free to the commerce of the world, there is her motto, and its common sense is so apparent that her enemies now say, "why, we never meant anything else," and even the United States slowly awakes to see that not only is her Pacific coast vitally interested in the success of British policy, but her whole commercial future also, regarding a region so vast and densely peopled that the possibilities of trade expansion are simply illimitable.

Possible, or rather probable, conflict with Spain regarding Cuba is also opening her eyes to the fact that her only reliable ally in the hour of danger would be the mother country. The language of Count Goluchowski regarding the necessity of a European commercial alliance against the United States was significant; for if antagonism is generally felt to exist, it will easily break out into war on a plausible pretext. The best guarantee against that is the conviction that not only would Britain not be a party to any such alliance, commercial or military, but that she would be on the other side, and therefore that its first result would be a permanent union of the English-speaking peoples, while opposed to them would be a heterogeneous combination bound together by a rope of sand. For the last two years everything has pointed to a war with Spain over Cuba, yet the Republic has for various reasons hesitated. The sinking of the *Maine* may be the spark to light up the dread conflagration; but apart from that, the forces at work have been tending irresistibly to collision. The inhuman measures of General Weyler, which have led to the slow starvation of a quarter of a million people, aroused the conscience of the Republic two years ago, and though he has been recalled, recent consular reports and the speech of Senator Proctor attest that there is no improvement in the situation. Conscious as our cousins are of irresistible strength compared with that of Spain, the wonder is that they have restrained themselves so long. The British people in like circumstances would not have been so patient. What would have happened had Armenia been in British waters or in the Mediterranean! It is said that they have not done much for Crete. They have put a fence around it, over which no Turkish soldier is permitted to cross. That is something gained, and that will be held until the Powers decide what is best for its future. As Britain and Russia have agreed on Prince George for its ruler, the chances are all in his favor in spite of the angry protest of Turkey. His appointment will be the dawn of hope for long-suffering Crete.

It is true that the expulsion of Spanish troops will not settle the Cuban question, any more than the departure of the few Turkish regulars left in the island will pacify Crete. The future of Cuba, Colour, racial and religious animosities, which have flamed fiercely for generations, do not soon die out. The blacks, half-breeds and whites, who are in arms against Spain testify to her unfitness to rule, but they themselves are equally unfit for self-government. The wealthy and intelligent classes in Havana and other towns are not only pro-Spanish but even opposed to autonomy. Is the regime of freedom to begin with expelling them? Having made herself responsible for their

separation from Spain, can the Republic wash her hands of all responsibility as regards their future? Few Americans would favor annexation, for their form of government makes no provision for dealing with a mass of people unprepared for citizenship and destitute of the guiding and controlling elements to be found in every Southern State. They shrink even from Hawaii and with a sound instinct. Cuba they would not take in, at any price. In the hands of Britain it would soon be turned into a garden of the Lord. But that is out of the question. No wonder then that the Republicans, who abused Cleveland two years ago for not interfering, are now crying for "more light." They will not get any, yet they cannot delay longer. Only the first step is clear, and until that is taken, no progress is possible. As surely as Turkey must give up Crete, must Spain give up Cuba. What a pity that she had not sold it to the States when she ceded Florida!

The progress of events, both in their immediate neighbourhood and on the other side of the globe, is making it evident to thoughtful men that the future of the world depends upon a good understanding between Britain and the States.
 natnral allies. A formal alliance is not needed. Their interest is the same, and so is their heart. Their greatest interest is peace, and the thought, or rather passion, which stirs them is the welfare of humanity by the extension of liberty, the reign of law and the establishment of justice. The one discordant note heard amid the general harmony is Mr. Michael Davitt's, and he has simply revealed his own limitations, with his consequent inability to rise to the height which the times demand. He is dominated by personal feelings, while his Celtic temperament makes him constitutionally unable to take an objective point of view. How far greater a man is Mr. Olney, reminding his Harvard hearers that there is a patriotism of race as well as of country! Why cannot Irish celts think of the duty of the hour, instead of waving "the bloody shirt" of 1798, the sight of which ought to excite only shame on both sides? Ireland is not suffering now from a single one of the grievances which roused her north into rebellion a century ago. This Session all parties are uniting to extend to every county and municipality in Ireland the full measure of Home Rule recently conferred on England and Scotland. Another concession is in sight, yielded not so much to the spirit of justice, as to the sentiment that the Imperial Parliament ought to give to Ireland all that a Nationalist Legislature sitting in Dublin would be likely to give. Trinity College is open on the same terms to all students, and so is the Royal University, with its colleges in Belfast, Cork and Galway, but because there is not "a Roman Catholic atmos-

phere " about either, it is quite certain that before long a Roman Catholic University shall be established and liberally endowed from public funds. Such a concession to religious prejudice would not be made in any other country than Great Britain, and Lord Salisbury's party in the House and the country will require a good deal of "educating" before it takes shape in a Bill, while the Nonconformists are sure to protest so vigorously that the last shred of their alliance with the Nationalists will probably snap. But, whether the Irish celts fall in with the movement or not, the great forces all tend to reunite the English-speaking race; and recent events in China have imparted to them a decided impetus.

It seems to me that it depends upon Japan whether there shall or shall not be war this year in the far East. Russia is not ready, even if her policy were war. She must first complete her great trans-continental railway through Siberia to the Pacific. Neither France nor Germany has anything in particular to fight for. None of those three Powers means to antagonize the policy of Britain. But Japan feels sore. She was forced to give up Port Arthur and the Liao-tong peninsula, on the plea that China must not be despoiled on the mainland; and now the Power that interfered most energetically is coolly appropriating the spoil. It is difficult for us to define the processes of the Japanese mind and conjecture what course of action Japan in the circumstances is most likely to take. But the lessons of her own past ought to teach her the wisdom of not attempting conquests on the mainland. Her people are ingenious and industrious, but they are not wealthy, and the masses are not warlike. Let her husband her resources and assimilate Formosa, which is about as much as she can digest for a generation. She will thus remain a strong Island Kingdom and naval power, whom nobody will attack, and whose alliance will be sought. But, by attempting what is beyond her strength, she invites irretrievable disaster. Of course, there is always the possibility of her initiating a policy, which would involve consequences for the world, by inducing the Chinese to accept her leadership in a united effort on the part of the yellow race to fight the whites; but there is no sign in China of the virility and unity which such a policy would call for, or of any readiness to submit to the sacrifices, especially of national vanity, which it would immediately entail. In the meantime a readiness to try conclusions with Russia seems to have been hinted at, and Russia has understood the hint to the extent of withdrawing her agents from Corea. Should Japan, however, try to push this advantage farther, she may have to reckon not only with the Russian, but with the French fleet, and with the

Prince who has gone to the far East to preach "the Gospel of the Consecrated Person" of the Kaiser, and to preach it with "the mailed fist."

The annual meeting of the Canadian Branch of the British Empire League brought out clearly our unanimity regarding the indivisibility of the Empire, and our increasing sense of national responsibility. Politicians formerly spoke respectfully of the League, but kept at a respectful distance from it, deprecating, too, anything in connection with it savouring of practical politics. The sentiment, like that of the sermon on the Mount, was excellent; but keep it as far away from life as possible. No one knew where it might strike; and, consequently, those who attended its meetings were regarded as men who dreamed dreams and had no political future. All that has been changed. Half a dozen cabinet ministers and the leaders of the opposition in the Senate and Commons, besides representative men from Brantford, Toronto, Kingston, Montreal and the Maritime Provinces, attended the last annual meeting in Ottawa, and none of them was afraid of nailing his colours to the mast-head. "We are Canadians, and in order to be Canadians we must be British," was the watchword. In considering how to make the Empire a more effective political unity, every one recognized the wisdom of proceeding along the lines of least resistance, meeting each necessity as it arose with a convention which would form a precedent, and taking up actual responsibilities, without attempting to formulate a cut and dried scheme, based on theory. Thus, the question of framing a Canadian branch of the Naval Reserve was discussed and the principle adopted. As the fleet is indispensable to an oceanic, world-wide commonwealth, it is believed that the government has resolved to make a beginning in this matter. The first vote may not be large, but it is important to take the first step. As regards our military arm, we have undertaken the government of nearly half a continent, and to think of doing that without a force ready for all emergencies would be as absurd as to offer to control London or New York without police. This very year we are likely to have from one to two hundred thousand gold-seekers in the Yukon territory, including daring, rowdy and reckless elements, accustomed to the use of Winchester, the majority of them convinced that there can be freedom only in connection with the great Republic. More unlikely things have happened than a vigorous attempt on their part to organize an independent administration, and we practically invite such an attempt, if our courts are not backed by adequate military force, with reserves ready. It is absurd to call ourselves a nation if we do not accept the responsibilities of national life.

Shirking them will lead to dishonour, as well as to tenfold the expenditure that would be necessary now. Other matters discussed were the food supply of Britain, the Pacific cable, and cheaper postal rates for letters, newspapers and periodicals within the Empire. The Postmaster-General has taken this last named subject in hand, and has laid down in connection with it a simple and comprehensive principle which met with the hearty approval of the League. He proposes that in every case the domestic rate should carry the letter or paper to the remotest corner of the Empire. Thus, for example, the Canadian three-cent letter rate for an ounce would be adequate, instead of as at present ten cents being needed. The same principle would apply to Britain, Australia, Africa and India. They could make their rate what they thought proper,—a penny, twopence halfpenny, or fivepence, or anything they liked for their own territory, and that would carry to every territory under the flag. This would be the actual federation of the Empire, so far as postal matters are concerned. There is to be a conference in London on the subject in June, and Mr. Mulock should attend it in person and press his views on the Postmaster-General of Britain. Pressure will be needed, because the British department, though well managed, is exceedingly conservative and detests innovations, especially if they involve the slightest loss of revenue to begin with. There is a political as well as a financial aspect to the question which should not be overlooked. There is a literary aspect, too, for at present we are discriminating against British journalism, and certainly not to our intellectual or moral gain.

Everyone is in favour of the extension of the Intercolonial Railway to Montreal ; but the evidence of Mr. Greenshields before the Commons' Committee is sufficient to show that investigation of the bargain made by the Government is imperative. According to him, he and his brother shareholders were willing to sell their railway to the Conservative Government for about a million, while anything over that—calculated at a million and quarter more—was to be divided between the shareholders and the go-between, in the proportion of one-third to the former and two-thirds to the latter ! Mr. Pacaud's "gold mine" looks very small beside such a Klondyke as this. It seems that Mr. Greenshields lent himself to this attempt to plunder the country ; also that Mr. Farewell and Mr. Ryan—whose evidence has not been given so far—had not influence enough to persuade the former government to consent to our being plundered ; also, that the same gentleman thereafter succeeded in leaseing his railway advantageously to the present government, and—"the deal" having failed because of the Senate's veto—succeeded in selling it to them—subject of course to

The Drummond County
Railway Investigations.

ratification by parliament! The more thorough the investigation of such an affair the better.

The rank and file of the Liberal party, or those who are most in evidence at Ottawa and other party centres, are clamouring for what amounts to the distribution of offices according "to the victors belong the spoils" system. The Spoils System. It might be idle to point out to them the immorality of this, but they might see that it is also bad politics. They wish their party to remain in power for more than this present term; if it does, a good many of them will get permanent offices, through the operation of death and superannuation, and if it does not, even those who get them now according to a bad system will lose them within two or three years. Is it wise to turn present incumbents and their friends into most active and relentless fighters, for the sake of giving an office to a supporter who is thereafter muzzled, and making several other supporters dissatisfied? For there are not enough offices to go round the crowd. I know of scarcely a single case in which this has not been the consequence of needless ejection or superannuation. Party heelers may be satisfied, but the silent vote—and it is that which wins elections—is disgusted. The United States has sickened of the spoils system, and is now recovering sanity, and slowly but surely climbing up to the British principle that public office is a public trust. We have hitherto been in advance of our neighbours in this matter. Are we now to array ourselves in their cast-off rags? If so, the party which makes itself responsible for such an offence against its own professions and the national conscience will have to pay the reckoning. Excuses will, of course, be offered, even the amusing excuse, that the influence of Ottawa society is all but omnipotent and is completely on one side, but they will avail nothing. We ought to go forward, but if that is out of the question, let us stand firm and not go backward.

The best friends of democratic government are disappointed with its working. It has developed grievous evils which they had never suspected as likely to arise. One of them The boundaries of Alaska. is the constant pressure on its leaders to attend to innumerable petty details, needed in order to keep the party machine well oiled, until little time is left for the consideration of the weightier matters of general policy or for unsettled questions. Everything that can be put off till to-morrow is put off, and as every day brings its tasks, to-morrow's recede into the dim distance, and are neglected until a catastrophe occurs which teaches the old lesson over again, that "unsettled questions have no regard for the repose of nations." There is the boundary between Alaska and Canada, for instance. It should have been determined long ago, but having been put off

till now, we are not likely to reach a settlement without bad blood, great cost to the deepest feelings of thousands, and large expenditures that would otherwise have been unnecessary. It is enough to point out that Dyea, Skagway, Pyramid Harbor and Wrangel, that is, every natural doorway from the ocean to the Klondyke is in territory claimed by Canada, and which at least might have been easily secured at any previous moment in our history; but no government could spare time to look into the matter; and if it had, instead of receiving thanks, it would have been abused for wasting time and money on worthless and frozen Arctic or sub-Arctic regions! The Pacific cable is another instance. The day after war breaks out, every section of the Empire would give millions for it, whereas, though it has been practically demonstrated that we could get it now, without cost, at the expense of a little energy and forethought, no one seems to think it his business. The reason is plain. Every cabinet minister has already more to attend to than he can handle very well; and scores of individuals press on him the importance of their axes. Woe to him if he does not grind these! And selfishness is always blind to the public welfare and the highest interests.

The result of the general election in Ontario is satisfactory in so far as it has given us an opposition more formidable in numbers, and it is said in ability, than the last House boasted. The loss to the government of Messrs. Gibson and Dryden is serious, and the country can so ill afford to lose them that it is to be hoped that they may find seats before long. As to the election itself, the *Globe* says that "upon the whole it was clean and straight-forward on both sides." No doubt, with the present governments at Ottawa and in the provinces, this seems to the *Globe* the best of all possible worlds, and it therefore takes a genial view of the late contest. But its optimism will scarcely be shared by independent observers, who kept their eyes open on polling day in cities like Kingston, Toronto, London and Hamilton. Great efforts had been made by agents to get voters on the registers; but it leaked out that numbers of these had no intention of voting unless for a consideration. A seedy-looking lot loafed round the booths, and it was evident to the most careless observer that they were waiting to get their two dollars apiece before entering. Hundreds got what they waited for. Both sides bought. In Kingston, a prominent conservative said, "our supply of two dollar bills unfortunately gave out first;" while the Hamilton remark was, "Even old-time voters on the Liberal side stood out to be paid, and not getting it, voted against Gibson." It is a disgrace to us as a country and a disgrace to both parties that such should be the

The Ontario General
Election.

case ; but it is folly to shut our eyes to facts and to cry " peace, peace," when there is no peace. Men who are honourable in business and members of churches engaged in the humiliating and degrading business. They will take the word of their associates in business matters, but they will not in politics ; else they would enter into a mutual agreement not to bribe, and thus defeat the scallawags, who are ready to sell themselves or their country to the highest bidder.

How shall we escape from the pollution ? Not by any short cut. Not by good men saying, " Politics are so contaminating that we will have nothing to do with them in the future." That means to hand over their country to the forces of evil. Not by the old method of prohibiting the poor from voting, and so keeping them out of temptation. They have the franchise now, and woe to the party which tries to take it from them ! No, there is no way for us but by appealing to the nobler elements in all men ; by utilizing the forces inherent in the church, the press, the school and the college, and bringing these to bear effectually on the people generally. This educational method may be slow, but in the end it will prevail, if only men have faith in God and faith in themselves.

In using to the utmost every means for elevating citizens to a higher conception of national life, we should also set our faces against everything that tends to corrupt the people, and to make them regard the franchise as a right rather than a trust. Nothing has done more to lower the tone of our cities than bonus by-laws, which have generally to buy their way through. Every proposal of a bonus should be scrutinized with the greatest jealousy, for more reasons than one.

G.

QUEEN'S QUARTERLY

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